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*The British Public Printer has printed*  
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ITINERARY  
OF  
GENERAL WASHINGTON

FROM

*June 15, 1775, to December 23, 1783.*

BY

WILLIAM S. BAKER,

AUTHOR OF THE "ENGRAVED PORTRAITS OF WASHINGTON," "MEDALLIC PORTRAITS OF  
WASHINGTON," "CHARACTER PORTRAITS OF WASHINGTON," "BIBLIOTHECA  
WASHINGTONIANA," ETC., ETC.

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

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THE Itinerary of General Washington during the war for independence, originally published in the "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography" (vols. xiv., xv.), is now brought together in a single volume, with many additions.

As issued in the Magazine, it became apparent, after the appearance of the early portions of the work, that the subject admitted of a much broader treatment than had been intended; and that the introduction of additional matter, covering as much as possible the prominent events of the struggle, would render it more useful both for reference and as a study of the character of Washington, without in any way conflicting with the form of an Itinerary. This plan was accordingly adopted for the subsequent numbers.

The additions, therefore, are principally limited to the first three years of the record as originally published.

As day by day we follow Washington through the pages of the Itinerary, we become more and more impressed with the earnestness, steadfastness, and truthfulness of his character, and feel assured that to his high sense of duty, and almost sleepless vigilance, we are mainly indebted for the successful issue of the battle for freedom.

History furnishes no finer type of manhood, no purer example of patriotism, than our WASHINGTON!

W. S. BAKER.

PHILADELPHIA, February 22, 1892.



# ITINERARY OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

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1775.

THURSDAY, JUNE 15.

At Philadelphia, as a delegate to Congress from the Colony of Virginia: On this day Congress, in session at the State House, *Resolved*, "That a General be appointed to command all the Continental Forces, raised or to be raised for the defence of American liberty.

"That five hundred dollars per month be allowed for the pay and expences of the General.

"The Congress then proceeded to the choice of a General by ballot, and GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq., was unanimously elected."—*Journal of Congress*.

The second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775, and it is recorded by John Adams that "Colonel Washington appeared every day in his uniform, and by his great experience and abilities in military matters, was of much service to all." At the session of June 15, however, in consequence of Mr. Adams having stated at a previous meeting that it was his intention to propose for the office of Commander-in-Chief a gentleman from Virginia, and one of their body, Washington was not present. The nomination was made by Thomas Johnson, a delegate from Maryland.

FRIDAY, JUNE 16.

At Philadelphia, in Congress: "The President [John Hancock] informed Col. Washington that the Congress had yesterday unanimously made choice of him to be General and Commander in Chief of the American forces, and requested he would accept of that employment; to which Col. *Washington* standing in his place answered.

“*Mr. President.*

“‘Though I am truly sensible of the high honor done me in this appointment, yet, I feel great distress from a consciousness, that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust: However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service and for support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

“‘But, lest some unlucky event should happen unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every Gentleman in the room, that I this day declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with.

“‘As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expence of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expences. Those I doubt not they will discharge, and that is all I desire.’”—*Journal of Congress.*

SATURDAY, JUNE 17.

At Philadelphia: This day, Congress in session passed the following resolution: “Whereas the Delegates of all the Colonies from *Nova Scotia* to *Georgia*, in Congress assembled, have unanimously chosen *George Washington* Esq. to be General and Commander in Chief, of such Forces as are or shall be raised for the maintenance and preservation of *American Liberty*; this Congress doth now declare, that they will maintain and assist him, and adhere to him the said *George Washington*, with their Lives and Fortunes in the same Cause.”—*Journal of Congress.*

“I can now inform you, that the Congress have made choice of the modest and virtuous, the amiable, generous and brave *George Washington, Esquire*,



to be General of the American army, and that he is to repair, as soon as possible, to the camp before Boston. This appointment will have a great effect in cementing and securing the union of these colonies."—*John Adams to Mrs. Adams*, June 17.

SUNDAY, JUNE 18.

At Philadelphia: "It has been determined in Congress, that the whole army raised for the defence of the American Cause shall be put under my care and that it is necessary for me to proceed immediately to Boston to take upon me the Command of it.—You may believe me, my dear Patey, when I assure you, in the most solemn manner, that, so far from seeking this appointment I have used every endeavour in my power to avoid it not only from my unwillingness to part with you and the Family, but a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity and that I should enjoy more real happiness and felicity, in one month with you at home than I have the most distant prospect of reaping abroad, if my stay were to be Seven times Seven years. But as it has been a kind of destiny that has thrown me upon this Service, I shall hope that my undertaking of it is designed to answer some good purpose."—*Washington to Mrs. Washington*, June 18.

"There is something charming to me in the conduct of Washington. A gentleman of one of the first fortunes upon the continent, leaving his delicious retirement, his family and friends, sacrificing his ease, and hazarding all in the cause of his country! His views are noble and disinterested. He declared, when he accepted the mighty trust, that he would lay before us an exact account of his expenses, and not accept a shilling for pay."—*John Adams to Elbridge Gerry*, June 18.

MONDAY, JUNE 19.

At Philadelphia: Receives his commission, appointing him "General and Commander in Chief of the Army of the United Colonies, and of all the forces raised, or to be raised by them."

"IN CONGRESS.—THE delegates of the United Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New-York, New



Jersey, Pennsylvania, New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina.\*

"To GEORGE WASHINGTON Esquire.

"We reposing especial trust and confidence in your patriotism, conduct and fidelity Do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be GENERAL AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF of the Army of the United Colonies and of all the forces raised or to be raised by them and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their service and join the said army for the defence of American Liberty and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof. AND you are hereby vested with full power and authority to act as you shall think for the good and welfare of the service.

"AND we do hereby strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command to be obedient to your orders and diligent in the exercise of their several duties.

"AND we do also enjoin and require you to be careful in executing the great trust reposed in you, by causing strict discipline and order to be observed in the army and that the soldiers are duly exercised and provided with all convenient necessities.

"AND you are to regulate your conduct in every respect by the rules and discipline of war (as herewith given you) and punctually to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the said United Colonies or a committee of Congress for that purpose appointed.

"THIS COMMISSION to continue in force until revoked by this or a future Congress.

"By order of the Congress.

"Dated Philadelphia June 19th 1775.

"JOHN HANCOCK, President.

"Attest CHAS. THOMSON Secr."

TUESDAY, JUNE 20.

At Philadelphia: "On Tuesday morning [June 20] the three battalions of this city and liberties, together with the artillery company, a troop of light horse, several companies of light infantry, rangers and riflemen, in the whole about two thousand, marched out to the Commons, and, having joined in brigade, were reviewed by General WASHINGTON, who is appointed Commander in Chief of all the North American forces by the honorable Continental Congress, when they went through the manual exercise, firings and

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\* Georgia was not represented in Congress until the 18th of September.

manœuvres, with great dexterity and exactness."—*Pennsylvania Evening Post*, June 22, 1775.

"I have been called upon by the unanimous voice of the Colonies to take the command of the Continental army; an honor I neither sought after, nor desired, as I am thoroughly convinced, that it requires greater abilities and much more experience than I am master of, to conduct a business so extensive in its nature, and arduous in the execution. But the partiality of Congress, joined to a political motive, really left me without a choice; and I am now commissioned a General and Commander-in-chief of all the forces now raised, or to be raised, for the defence of the United Colonies. That I may discharge the trust to the satisfaction of my employers is my first wish; that I shall aim to do it, there remains little doubt. How far I may succeed is another point."—*Washington to John Augustine Washington*, June 20.

#### THURSDAY, JUNE 22.

At Philadelphia: Is entertained at a farewell supper, given in his honor, at the City Tavern, at which several distinguished citizens of Philadelphia assisted.

The City Tavern was erected in 1773 by a voluntary subscription of the principal gentlemen of Philadelphia, for the convenience of the public. It stood on the west side of Second Street, above Walnut, No. 86, corner of the present Gold Street, formerly Bank Alley, and was subsequently known as "The Merchants' Coffee-House." When first opened, in the early part of 1774, with Daniel Smith as the landlord, it was considered the largest and most elegant house of its kind in America. The site, in connection with adjoining ground extending to Walnut Street, is now occupied by "The Anthracite Building," erected about thirty-five years ago.

#### FRIDAY, JUNE 23.

Leaves Philadelphia: "Yesterday morning [June 23] the Generals WASHINGTON and LEE set off from this city [Philadelphia] to take command of the American army at Massachusetts Bay. They were accompanied from town by the troop of light horse, and by all the officers of the city militia on horseback, who went no farther than about five miles, when they returned, but the former continued with them, and how far they will go is uncertain."—*Pennsylvania Evening Post*, June 24, 1775.

Washington left Philadelphia on horseback, and travelled in that manner all the way to Cambridge; the first entry in the account current that he rendered at the conclusion of the war being as follows: "To the purchase of five Horses (two of which were had on credit from Mr. James Mease) to equip me for my Journey to the Army at Cambridge—& for the Service I was then going upon—having sent my Chariot and Horses back to Virginia, £239—." General Schuyler, Thomas Mifflin, and Joseph Reed were also of the party, which before reaching Trenton was met by a courier bearing despatches to Congress concerning the battle of Bunker Hill. The troop of light horse which acted as an escort is now known as the "First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry." It was organized November 17, 1774, and bears an honorable record for services rendered during the war.

SATURDAY, JUNE 24.

At New Brunswick, New Jersey: "General Washington, with his retinue, is now here [New Brunswick], and proposes to be at Newark by nine to-morrow morning. The situation of the men-at-war at New York (we are informed) is such as to make it necessary that some precaution should be taken in crossing Hudson's river, and he would take it as a favor if some gentleman of your body would meet him to-morrow at Newark, as the advice you may then give him will determine whether he will continue his proposed route or not."—*General Schuyler to the President of the New York Provincial Congress*, June 24.

SUNDAY, JUNE 25.

At Newark, New Jersey: Meets a committee appointed by the Provincial Congress of New York to attend him to the city. Committee: John Sloss Hobart, Melancthon Smith, Richard Montgomery, and Gouverneur Morris. Arrives at New York about two o'clock in the afternoon, crossing the Hudson at Hoboken.

"June 25—This afternoon at four [two] o'clock, General Washington, attended by Generals Lee and Schuyler, and the light-horse of Philadelphia, on the way for the American camp at Cambridge, landed at Colonel Lispenard's seat, about a mile above New York [in the vicinity of Lighthouse Point, near Greenwich], from whence they were conducted into the city, by nine

companies of foot, in their uniforms, and a greater number of the principal inhabitants of that city than ever appeared on any occasion before."—*Rivington's Gazetteer*, June 29, 1774.

MONDAY, JUNE 26.

At New York: Receives and answers, at half-past two in the afternoon, an address from the New York Provincial Congress, and leaves for Kingsbridge.

"*New York*. July 3. 1775.—On Monday last [June 26] General WASHINGTON with his suite, attended by the several New York Military Companies, and likewise by a Troop of Gentlemen of the Philadelphia Light Horse, commanded by Captain Markoe, and a number of the inhabitants of this city, set out for the Provincial Camp at Cambridge, near Boston. The General rested that night at Kingsbridge [fourteen miles from the city], and the next morning proceeded on his journey; The Troop returned to this city the next evening, and departed hence for Philadelphia, the Thursday following."—*Pennsylvania Journal*, July 5, 1775.

TUESDAY, JUNE 27.

Leaves Kingsbridge: General Schuyler, who had been commissioned to "take command of all the troops destined for the New York department," accompanied him as far as New Rochelle, Westchester County, where they met and conferred with General Wooster.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 28.

At New Haven, Connecticut: Reviews a military company of students of Yale College, and "lodges at the house of the late Isaac Beers."

"*New Haven*, July 5, 1775.—Last Wednesday [June 28], his excellency General Washington, Major General Lee, Major Thomas Mifflin, General Washington's aid-de-camp, and Samuel Griffin, Esq. General Lee's aid-de-camp, arrived in town, and early next morning they set out for the Provincial Camp, near Boston, attended by great numbers of the inhabitants of the town. They were escorted out of town by two companies dressed in their uniform, and by a company of young gentlemen belonging to the Seminary in this place, who made a handsome appearance, and whose expertness in the military exercises gained the approbation of the Generals."—*Connecticut Historical Collections*.

## THURSDAY, JUNE 29.

At Wethersfield, Connecticut: "*Philadelphia*, June 22, 1775. This will be handed you by his Excellency, General Washington, in company with General Lee, and retinue. Should they lodge a night in Wethersfield, you will accommodate their horses, servants, &c., in the best manner at the tavern, and their retinue will likely go on to Hartford."—*Silas Deane to Mrs. Deane.*

The house occupied by Silas Deane at Wethersfield, and at which, in all probability, Washington stayed on the night of June 29, was next south of the "Webb House," the place of conference between Washington and Rochambeau, May 22, 1781. The house, which is still standing, was afterwards known as the residence of Stephen Chester.

## FRIDAY, JUNE 30.

At Springfield, Massachusetts: Meets a committee from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay,—Dr. Benjamin Church and Moses Gill,—who had provided escorts for the remainder of the journey, through Brookfield, Worcester and Marlborough to Watertown.

## SUNDAY, JULY 2.

At Watertown, Massachusetts: Arrives in the morning, attended by the committee and a train of other gentlemen, under escort of a company of horse from Marlborough, and receives an address from the Provincial Congress, then in session at Watertown, which he answers by letter of July 4. Leaves in the afternoon, for Cambridge, three miles distant, and arrives at two o'clock.

## MONDAY, JULY 3.

At Cambridge, Massachusetts: Takes command of the army on Cambridge Common, at nine o'clock in the morning, and afterwards visits the several posts occupied by the American troops.

The first house occupied by the Commander-in-Chief at Cambridge, as headquarters, was known as the "President's House," built by Harvard



College in 1726, for the use of its presidents. The house of John Vassall, a fugitive royalist, known later as the Craigie house, and still later as the residence of Henry W. Longfellow, was made head-quarters about the middle of July. This house, which is still owned and occupied by the Longfellow family, Washington retained as his quarters until he left Cambridge for New York, April 4, 1776.

TUESDAY, JULY 4.

At Cambridge: *Orderly Book*.—"The Continental Congress, having now taken all the Troops of the several Colonies, which have been raised, or which may be hereafter raised for the support and defence of the Liberties of America; into their Pay and Service: They are now the Troops of the United Provinces of North America; and it is hoped that all Distinction of Colonies will be laid aside; so that one and the same spirit may animate the whole, and the only Contest be, who shall render, on this great and trying occasion, the most essential Service to the great and common cause in which we are all engaged."

The army in front of Boston at this time, composed of troops from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, brought together after the battle of Concord and Lexington, was estimated to be about fourteen thousand five hundred effective men. Intrenchments had been thrown up on Winter and Prospect Hills, on the left, and at Roxbury on the right, with works at intermediate points. The college buildings and houses in Cambridge were also occupied by the troops.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 5.

At Roxbury: "Yesterday [July 5], as I was going to Cambridge, I met the generals [Washington and Lee], who begged me to return to Roxbury again, which I did. When they had viewed the works, they expressed the greatest pleasure and surprise at their situation and apparent utility, to say nothing of the plan, which did not escape their praise."—*Henry Knox to Mrs. Knox*, July 6.

Henry Knox, who commenced his military career as a volunteer aid to General Ward at Bunker Hill, was at this time serving as an engineer. "The chief work constructed by him was the strong redoubt crowning the hill in Roxbury, known as Roxbury Fort, the site of which is now [1873]

covered by the Cochituate Stand Pipe."\* He was commissioned colonel of the artillery regiment, 17 November, 1775; brigadier-general, 27 December, 1776, and major-general, 22 March, 1782, dating from 15 November, 1781.

THURSDAY, JULY 6.

At Cambridge: Visits all the American posts, and reconnoitres the enemy's works.

"July 1775.—To the Expences of myself & party reconnoitr the Sea Coast East of Boston Harbor. . £18. 18. 2."—*Washington's Accounts*.

SUNDAY, JULY 9.

At Cambridge: A council of war, in which it was unanimously determined to defend the posts as occupied, and that measures ought to be immediately taken to increase the army by recruits.

"General Washington fills his place with vast ease and dignity, and dispenses happiness around him. General Lee will become very popular soon. I am obliged to go to Cambridge to wait on General Washington, and promised to be there by seven o'clock. I am now half past that time."—*Henry Knox to Mrs. Knox*, July 9.

MONDAY, JULY 10.

At Cambridge: "Our enemies have attempted nothing against us since my arrival here. They are strongly posted on Bunker's Hill, and are still busy in throwing up additional works. We have thrown up several lines and redoubts between Mystic River and Dorchester Point, to prevent their making way into the country, and in a few days we shall be well prepared to receive them in case a sortie is attempted."—*Washington to General Schuyler*.

"Our lines on Winter and Prospect Hills, and those of the enemy on Bunker's Hill are in full view of each other, a mile distant, our advance guards much nearer, and the sentries almost near enough to converse; at Roxbury and Boston Neck it is the same. Between these, we are obliged to guard several of the places at which the enemy may land."—*Washington to Richard Henry Lee*, July 10.

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\* Life and Correspondence of Henry Knox. By Francis S. Drake, p. 18.

## THURSDAY, JULY 13.

At Roxbury: "*July 13th.*—A heavy cannonade from the British, at the American workmen—but no damage done. Gen. Washington visited the camp."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

## FRIDAY, JULY 14.

At Cambridge: *Orderly Book.*—"It is recommended both to Officers and Men to make themselves acquainted with the persons of all the Officers in General Command, and in the mean time, to prevent mistakes: The General Officers and their Aids-de-Camp will be distinguished in the following manner.

"The Commander-in-Chief by a light blue Ribband, worn across his breast, between his Coat and Waistcoat.

"The Majors and Brigadiers General by a Pink Ribband worn in the like manner.

"The Aids-de-Camp by a green ribband."

"His Excellency, General Washington, has arrived amongst us, universally admired. Joy was visible in every countenance, and it seemed as if the spirit of conquest breathed through the whole army. I hope we shall be taught, to copy his example, and to prefer the love of liberty, in this time of public danger to all the soft pleasures of domestic life, and support ourselves with manly fortitude amidst all the dangers and hardships that attend a state of war. And I doubt not, under the General's wise direction, we shall establish such excellent order and strictness of discipline as to invite victory to attend him wherever he goes."—*General Greene to Samuel Ward*, July 14.

## SATURDAY, JULY 15.

At Cambridge: Present at the reading, by President Langdon of Harvard College, of the Declaration of Congress (July 6), setting forth the causes and necessity of the United Colonies taking up arms.

"Yesterday morning [July 18], according to orders issued the day before by Major-General Putnam, all the continental troops under his immediate command assembled on Prospect Hill, when the declaration of the Continental Congress was read, after which, an animated and pathetic address to the army was made by the Rev. Mr. Leonard, chaplain to General Putnam's



regiment, and succeeded by a pertinent prayer; when General Putnam gave the signal, and the whole army shouted their loud amen by three cheers; immediately upon which, a cannon was fired from the fort, and the standard lately sent to General Putnam was exhibited flourishing in the air, bearing on one side this motto—'An Appeal to Heaven!' and on the other side,—'*Qui Transtulit Sustinet!*' The whole was conducted with the utmost decency, good order, and regularity, and to the universal acceptance of all present. And the Philistines on Bunker's Hill heard the shout of the Israelites, and being very fearful, paraded themselves in battle array."—*Essex Gazette*.

THURSDAY, JULY 20.

At Cambridge: A day of public humiliation, fasting, and prayer, recommended by Congress, June 12.

"July 20, 1775.—I have been much gratified this day with a view of General Washington. His Excellency was on horseback in company with several military gentlemen. It was not difficult to distinguish him from all others; his personal appearance is truly noble and majestic; being tall and well proportioned. His dress is a blue coat with buff colored facings, a rich epaulette on each shoulder, buff under dress, and an elegant small sword; a black cockade in his hat."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

SATURDAY, JULY 22.

At Cambridge: By general orders of this day, the army was distributed into three grand divisions. One, forming the right wing, was stationed on the heights of Roxbury; it was commanded by Major-General Ward. Another, forming the left wing, under Major-General Lee, was stationed on Winter and Prospect Hills; while the centre, under Major-General Putnam, was stationed at Cambridge.

THURSDAY, JULY 27.

At Cambridge: "The enemys force, including marines, Tories, &c are computed, from the best accounts I can get, at about twelve thousand men; ours, including sick absent &c., at about sixteen thousand; but then we have a semi-circle of eight or nine miles to guard to every part of which we are obliged to be equally attentive; whilst they, situated as it were in the centre of the semicircle, can bend their whole force (having the entire command of the water),

against any one part of it with equal facility. This renders our situation not very agreeable, though necessary. However, by incessant labor (Sundays not excepted), we are in a much better posture of defence now, than when I first came."—*Washington to John Augustine Washington.*

"It would be far beyond the compass of a letter, for me to describe the situation of things here on my arrival. Perhaps you will only be able to judge of it from my assuring you, that mine must be a portrait at full length of what you have had a miniature. Confusion and discord reigned in every department, which, in a little time, must have ended either in the separation of the army, or fatal contests with one another. The better genius of America has prevailed, and most happily the ministerial troops have not availed themselves of their advantages, till I trust the opportunity is in a great measure past over."—*Washington to General Schuyler, July 28.*

#### FRIDAY, JULY 28.

At Cambridge: "Our enemy continues strongly posted about a mile from us, both at Bunker's Hill and Roxbury, but we are not able to get any information of their future intentions. Part of the riflemen are come in, and the rest daily expected."—*Washington to General Schuyler.*

The Continental Congress resolved, on the 14th of June, that six companies of expert riflemen should be raised in Pennsylvania, two in Maryland and two in Virginia. On the 22d it was again resolved that two more companies should be raised in Pennsylvania, and that the eight together should make a battalion. The twelve companies were all filled with surprising celerity. One company arrived in Cambridge on the 25th of July, and eight others before the 14th of August, so that within two months after orders had gone out, the men had been enlisted and equipped, and the whole had marched from four to six hundred miles to camp. Captain Daniel Morgan, so much celebrated during the war, commanded one of these companies. He marched his men from Frederick County, in Virginia, nearly six hundred miles, in three weeks. These riflemen were enlisted for one year, and were the first troops ordered to be raised by the Continental Congress. The Pennsylvania battalion was commanded by Colonel William Thompson.

#### THURSDAY, AUGUST 3.

At Cambridge: A council of war held to take into consideration the discovery of the alarming fact, that the whole

stock of powder in camp, was only nine thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven pounds.

"August 5, 1775.—We had a general council the day before yesterday, and, to our great surprise, discovered that we had not powder enough to furnish half a pound a man, exclusive of what the people have in their horns and cartridge-boxes. The General [Washington] was so struck that he did not utter a word for half an hour. Every one else was also astonished."—*Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety.*

FRIDAY, AUGUST 4.

At Cambridge: "I am now, in strict confidence, to acquaint you, that our necessities in the article of powder and lead are so great, as to require an immediate supply. I must earnestly entreat, that you will fall upon some measure to forward every pound of each in your colony, that can possibly be spared. . . No quantity, however small, is beneath notice, and, should any arrive, I beg it may be forwarded as soon as possible."—*Washington to Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island.*

"When our Army lay before Boston in 1775, our Powder was so nearly expended, that General Washington told me that he had not more than Eight rounds a Man, altho' he had then near 14 miles of Line to guard, and that he dare not fire an Evening or Morning Gun. In this situation one of the Committee of Safety for Massachusetts, who was privy to the whole secret, deserted and went over to General Gage, and discovered our poverty to him. The fact was so incredible, that Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage treated it as a stratagem of war, and the informant as a Spy, or coming with the express purpose of deceiving him & drawing his Army into a Snare, by which means we were saved from having our Quarters beaten up. I was the Chairman of the Committee of Safety at Elizabeth Town [New Jersey], and had about Six or Seven quarter Casks of Powder, which on urgent application from Gen. Washington, were sent to Boston, with what could be spared from New York."—*MS. of Elias Boudinot.*

TUESDAY, AUGUST 3.

At Cambridge: "I was yesterday [August 8] at Cambridge. Generals Washington and Lee inquired after you. I dined at General W's."—*Henry Knox to Mrs. Knox, August 9.*

"*Cambridge, August 9, 1775.*—We waited on General Washington, who I have the pleasure to inform you is much beloved and admired for his polite condescension and noble deportment. His appointment to the Chief Command has the general suffrage of all ranks of people here, which I think is no bad omen."—*Letter from a Philadelphian, Pennsylvania Gazette, August 23.*

TUESDAY, AUGUST 15.

At Cambridge: "I am glad to relieve you from your anxiety respecting troops being sent from Boston to Quebec. These reports, I apprehend, took their rise from a fleet being fitted out about fourteen days ago to plunder the islands in the Sound of their live stock; an expedition, which they have executed with some success, and are just returning. . . To-morrow I expect a supply of powder from Philadelphia,\* which will be a most seasonable relief in our present necessity."—*Washington to General Schuyler.*

In consequence of the resolve of Congress (June 27), General Schuyler was at this time making preparations to advance into Canada from Ticonderoga, and take possession of Fort St. Johns and Montreal. But falling seriously ill, on the 15th of September, when on the point of investing St. Johns, he was forced to transfer the command to General Richard Montgomery, and return to Albany. He, however, continued his exertions in raising troops, and forwarding supplies to the army.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 20.

At Cambridge: "The design of this express is to communicate to you a plan of an expedition, which has engaged my thoughts for several days. It is to penetrate into Canada, by way of Kennebec River, and so to Quebec by a route ninety miles below Montreal. I can very well spare a detachment for this purpose of one thousand, or twelve hundred men, and the land-carriage by the route proposed is too inconsiderable to make an objection."—*Washington to General Schuyler.*

The detachment to penetrate into Canada was placed under the command

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\* "August 17th.—Six or seven tons of powder arrived from the southward."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

of Colonel Benedict Arnold, with instructions (September 14) to use all possible expedition, as the winter season was advancing. It was composed of ten companies of musketeers from New England and three companies of riflemen from Virginia and Pennsylvania, in all eleven hundred men, the riflemen being commanded by Captain Daniel Morgan. On the morning of November 14, the little army, which, in consequence of the frightful sufferings of the men, had dwindled to seven hundred and fifty (two hundred under Colonel Enos having returned to avoid starvation), climbed the heights of Abraham; Arnold, however, finding it utterly impossible to attack the city, retreated to *Point aux Trembles*, twenty miles above Quebec, to await the approach of the troops under General Montgomery, who, after capturing Forts Chambly and St. Johns, had taken possession of Montreal, November 18. The junction was made December 1, and the combined forces, amounting only to nine hundred men, arrived in sight of Quebec on the 5th. In the unsuccessful assault of December 31, in which General Montgomery was slain, Arnold received a wound in the leg.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 29.

At Cambridge: "We have only 184 Barls. of powder in all (including the late supply from Philadelphia), wch is not sufficient to give 25 muskets cartridges to each man, and scarcely to serve the artillery in any brisk action one single day."—*Washington to Richard Henry Lee.*

"The word *Powder* in a letter, sets us all a tiptoe, we have been in a terrible situation, occasioned by a mistake in a return; we reckoned upon three hundred quarter casks and had but thirty-two barrels—not above nine cartridges to a man to the whole army, but the late supply from Philadelphia has relieved us. All our heavy artillery was useless, and even now we are compelled to a very severe economy."—*Joseph Reed to Mr. Bradford*, August 24.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 31.

At Cambridge: "Last Saturday night [August 26] we took possession of a hill [Plowed Hill, Mount Benedict], considerably advanced beyond our former lines; which brought on a very heavy cannonade from Bunker's Hill, and afterwards a bombardment, which has been since kept up with little spirit on their part, or damage on ours."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"August 26th.—The Americans broke ground on Plowed Hill, in front of Bunker's Hill, without molestation."—*Heath's Memoirs.*



## MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 11.

At Cambridge; A council of war, held to consider whether it was expedient to make an attack upon the troops at Boston by means of boats, in co-operation with an attempt upon their lines at Roxbury. It was unanimously agreed, that "it was not expedient to make the attempt at present, at least."

In communicating this decision to Congress, Washington wrote: "I cannot say that I have wholly laid it [the attack] aside; but new events may occasion new measures. Of this I hope the honorable Congress can need no assurance, that there is not a man in America, who more earnestly wishes such a termination of the campaign, as to make the army no longer necessary."

## MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 18.

At Cambridge: "*Sep. 18. To the Exps of myself and Party in reconnoitring the South & West Shore of Boston Harbor. . £16. 6. 4.*"—*Washington's Accounts.*

"*Oct. 2.—To Expens. at Mystick. . £2. 6. 4.*"—*Washington's Accounts.*

## TUESDAY, OCTOBER 3.

At Cambridge: A council of war, held on this and the following day, to consider the treachery of Dr. Benjamin Church, director-general of the hospital.

Dr. Benjamin Church, who had been a prominent patriot, was discovered in an attempt to hold a correspondence with the enemy. The matter, after being considered in council, was referred to Congress, who, on November 6, directed that he should be closely confined in a jail in Connecticut. He was imprisoned at Norwich, but was released in May, 1776, on account of declining health, and afterwards obtained permission from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, in whose charge he was, to visit the West Indies; the vessel in which he sailed was never heard of. Dr. Church was the first traitor to the Revolutionary cause.

## WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 4.

At Cambridge: "General Gage is recalled from Boston,

and sails to-morrow; he is succeeded by General Howe. We have had no material occurrences since I had the pleasure of writing to you last. Our principal employment now is preparing for winter, as there seems to be no probability of an accommodation, or any such decision as to make the present army less necessary."—*Washington to General Schuyler.*

General Gage sailed for England on October 10; he did not return to America.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5.

At Cambridge: "The enemy in Boston and on the heights at Charlestown (two peninsulas surrounded in a manner by ships of war and floating batteries) are so strongly fortified as to render it almost impossible to force their lines, which are thrown up at the head of each neck; without great slaughter on our side, or cowardice on theirs, it is absolutely so. We therefore can do no more, than keep them besieged, which they are, to all intents and purposes, as close as any troops on earth can be, that have an opening to the sea."—*Washington to Robert Carter Nicholas.*

"Oct. 6.—To Expens. of myself & Party visitg the shores about Chelsea. . £8. 5. 6."—*Washington's Accounts.*

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13.

At Cambridge: "Since finishing our lines of defence, we, as well as the enemy, have been busily employed in putting our men under proper cover for the winter. Our advanced works, and theirs, are within musket-shot of each other. We are obliged to submit to an almost daily cannonade without returning a shot, from our scarcity of powder, which we are necessitated to keep for closer work than cannon-distance, whenever the red-coat gentry please to step out of their intrenchments."—*Washington to John Augustine Washington.*



## WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 18.

At Cambridge: A council of war held to consider an intimation from Congress, that an attack upon Boston, if practicable, was much desired. It was decided to be impracticable.

## MONDAY, OCTOBER 23.

At Cambridge: In conference, on this and the following day, with a committee of Congress, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Lynch, and Benjamin Harrison.

The committee of Congress, appointed to consult with other committees, in relation to a new organization of the army, arrived at Cambridge October 15. Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire were represented in the conference, which continued several days (from the 18th to the 22d), and embraced all the points of the proposed new army. The conference with Washington on the 23d and 24th was on sundry matters upon which no order had been made by Congress.

## TUESDAY, OCTOBER 24.

At Cambridge: "My conjecture of the destination of the late squadron from Boston, in my last, has been unhappily verified by an outrage, exceeding in barbarity and cruelty every hostile act practised among civilized nations. I have enclosed the account given me by Mr. [Pearson] Jones, a gentleman of the town of Falmouth, of the destruction of that increasing and flourishing village."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

British cruisers kept the New England coast, from Falmouth to New London, in a state of continual alarm. Lieutenant Mowatt, commander of a British brig, made a descent upon Gloucester, Mass., August 9, and attempted to land. He was repulsed, after he had thrown several bombs into the town with serious effect. On September 30, Stonington, Connecticut, was bombarded; two men were killed, and the houses were much shattered. In October, Mowatt was sent to Falmouth (now Portland), Maine. On the refusal of the inhabitants to give up their arms, and after allowing two hours for the removal of the women and children, he bombarded the town on the 18th. One hundred and thirty-nine houses, and two hundred and seventy-eight stores and other buildings were destroyed; but the courageous inhabitants maintained their ground, and defeated his attempt to land.



THURSDAY, OCTOBER 26.

At Cambridge: "Colonel Allen's misfortune will, I hope, teach a lesson of prudence and subordination to others, who may be too ambitious to outshine their general officers, and regardless of order and duty, rush into enterprises, which have unfavorable effects on the public, and are destructive to themselves."—*Washington to General Schuyler*.

Ethan Allen, having been sent with an escort of thirty men to beat up recruits among the Canadians, crossed the St. Lawrence, without the consent or knowledge of General Montgomery, on the night of the 24th of September, to attack Montreal. He was defeated, taken prisoner, and put in irons by General Prescott, the commandant, and sent to Quebec, and afterwards to England; from thence he was sent to Halifax, and later to New York, where, May 6, 1778, he was exchanged for Colonel Campbell.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 29.

At Cambridge: "Your favor of the 25th instant came safely to hand. Captain Whipple's voyage has been unfortunate, but it is not in our power to command success, though it is always our duty to deserve it."—*Washington to Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island*.

Captain Abraham Whipple, having been ordered by Governor Cooke, at the suggestion of Washington (letter of August 4), to proceed to Bermuda for the purpose of securing a considerable magazine of powder on that island, set sail from Providence in an armed vessel fitted out by Rhode Island. He put in at the west end of the island, but, finding that the powder, amounting to one hundred barrels, had been removed by a vessel supposed to be from Philadelphia, and another from South Carolina, returned to Providence.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5.

At Cambridge. "Finding the ministerial troops resolved to keep themselves close within their lines, and that it was judged impracticable to get at them, I have fitted out six armed vessels, with the design to pick up some of their store-ships and transports. The rest of our men are busily employed in erecting barracks."—*Washington to General Schuyler*.

Quite early in the struggle the necessity of armed vessels to cut off the enemy's supplies became apparent. The Rhode Island Assembly (June 12) authorized two vessels to be fitted out, one of eighty men, under Abraham Whipple, the other of thirty men, under Christopher Whipple. Connecticut authorized (July 1) two armed vessels to be fitted out, and so important was it to distress the British, that Washington, under his general authority, ordered vessels to be equipped. The first captain he commissioned was Nicholas Broughton, of Marblehead, whose instructions "to take the command of a detachment of said army, and proceed on board the Schooner Hannah, at Beverly," are dated September 2, 1775. Under directions from Congress, October 5, every effort was made to fit out the six schooners referred to by Washington, but they were not all ready for sea until the last of the month. On the 29th the Lynch, commanded by Captain Broughton, and the Franklin, by Captain Selman, had sailed for the St. Lawrence; the Lee, by Captain Manly, sailed the same day on a cruise; the Warren, by Captain Adams, and the Washington, by Captain Martindale, were to sail on the 30th; the Harrison, by Captain Coit, was on a cruise. Some of the vessels were unfortunate. Captain Martindale was captured, and, with his crew, was carried to England. Others, however, were highly successful.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18.

At Roxbury: In conference with Generals Ward, Thomas, and Spencer, and Colonel Rufus Putnam.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27.

At Cambridge: "Your favor of the 13th, came to this place on Wednesday evening [November 22]; part of which, that is, the night, I was engaged with a party of men throwing up a work upon a hill called Cobble Hill, which, in case we should ever be supplied with such things as we want, may prove useful to us, and could not be delayed, as the earth here is getting as hard as a rock."—*Washington to Richard Henry Lee.*

"November 22d.—A strong detachment from the army, under the command of Maj. Gen. Putnam, broke ground on Cobble Hill, without annoyance. The fatigue-men worked until near break of day, when the whole came off. . 23d.—At night, our General [Heath], with a detachment of similar strength to that of the preceding night were ordered to Cobble Hill, to complete the works."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

## SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2.

At Cambridge: "I have the pleasure to inform you, that one of our armed vessels, the Lee, Captain Manly, took and brought in the other day [November 30] a valuable store-ship bound to Boston."—*Washington to Jonathan Trumbull.*

"November 30th.—Intelligence was received from Cape-Ann, that a vessel from England, laden with warlike stores, had been taken and brought into that place. There was on board one 18 inch brass mortar, 2,000 stand of arms, 100,000 flints, 32 tons of leaden balls, &c. &c. A fortunate capture for the Americans!"—*Heath's Memoirs.*

## SUNDAY, DECEMBER 3.

At Cambridge: Attends service at the Rev. Dr. Appleton's Church; discourse by Abiel Leonard, chaplain to General Putnam's command.

This was the "Old Congregational Church," which Washington attended while in Cambridge, the minister being the venerable Nathaniel Appleton. The building was taken down in 1833, and the land sold to the corporation of Harvard College. It stood near the spot where Dane Hall now stands.

## MONDAY, DECEMBER 4.

At Cambridge: "The great want of powder is what the attention of Congress should be particularly applied to. I dare not attempt anything offensive, let the temptation or advantage be ever so great, as I have not more of that most essential article, than will be absolutely necessary to defend our lines, should the enemy attempt to attack them."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

## MONDAY, DECEMBER 11.

At Cambridge: Mrs. Washington arrives at Cambridge, accompanied by her son, John Parke Custis, and his wife.

## MONDAY, DECEMBER 18.

At Cambridge: "We now work at our ease on Lechmere's Hill. On discovering our party there yesterday morning,

the ship which lay opposite began a cannonade, to which Mount Horam [west side of Boston] added some shells. One of our men was wounded. We fired a few shot from two eighteen pounders, which are placed on Cobble Hill, and soon obliged the ship to shift her station."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"December 12th.—A causeway was begun over the marsh, to Leechmore's Point. Two 18 pounders were brought from Roxbury, and mounted at Cobble Hill. . 14th, 15th, and 16th.—Approaches were carried briskly on to Leechmore's Point, and nearly to the top of the hill. . 17th.—A detachment of 300 men, under the direction of Gen. Putnam, broke ground on the top of the hill, on Leechmore's Point. . 18th.—Our General [Heath] was ordered, with 300 men, to prosecute the work begun on Leechmore's Point. . In the afternoon, Gen. Washington and several other General Officers came on to the Point. . 19th.—The prosecution of the works on Leechmore's Point was continued."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

MONDAY, DECEMBER 25.

At Cambridge: "We have made good progress in the works on Leechmore's Point. They would have been finished ere this, but for the severity of the weather, which prevents our people from working."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 31.

At Cambridge: "General Lee is just returned from his excursion to Rhode Island. He has pointed out the best method the island would admit of for its defence. He has endeavoured all in his power to make friends of those that were our enemies."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

General Lee's excursion to Rhode Island was made at the instance of Governor Cooke, who had written to Washington, requesting military aid and the services of an efficient officer to put the island in a state of defence. Having laid out works, and given directions for fortifications, besides arresting some Tory citizens, he returned to camp after an absence of ten days. Early in January, 1776, in consequence of the fitting out of a fleet at Boston, under Sir Henry Clinton, for a southern expedition, Lee proceeded to New York, and did good service in beginning the fortifications needed for the city and neighboring strategic points.

On the 27th of February, 1776, Congress formed what were called the middle and southern military departments; the former consisting of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland; and the latter of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. General Lee was directed, March 1, to take command of the southern department, and in compliance with that order left New York on the 7th. Lee did not rejoin the main army until October 14, when he took command of the right wing, having, by the resignation of General Ward, become senior major-general.



## 1776.

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### MONDAY, JANUARY 1.

At Cambridge: *Orderly Book*.—"This day giving commencement to the new army, which in every point of view is entirely Continental, the General flatters himself that a laudable spirit of emulation will now take place, and pervade the whole of it."

The appointment of Washington as Commander-in-Chief of all the American forces, and the adoption by Congress of the army which had gathered before Boston, immediately after the battle of Concord and Lexington, gave that army more of a military status than it had possessed as commanded by provincial officers; yet the enlistments were short, and it soon became necessary, from that and other causes, to reorganize the whole body. The *new army* referred to in the order was enlisted for a year's service from January 1, 1776, under a plan agreed upon by Washington and a committee of Congress, and, while the army it replaced had to a certain extent possessed something of a national character, yet the *new army* may certainly be classed as the first Continental army, raised for the cause of independence. On this day, also, the Union flag, composed of thirteen alternate red and white stripes, with the British union (the combined crosses of St. George and St. Andrew) in the upper corner, was displayed for the first time.

### THURSDAY, JANUARY 4.

At Cambridge: "It is not in the pages of history, perhaps, to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a post within musket-shot of the enemy, for six months together, without [powder], and at the same time to disband one army, and recruit another, within that distance of twenty odd British regiments, is more, probably, than was ever attempted."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

### SUNDAY, JANUARY 14.

At Cambridge: "The reflection on my situation, and that of this army, produces many an uneasy hour when all around

me are wrapped in sleep. Few people know the predicament we are in, on a thousand accounts; fewer still will believe, if any disaster happens to these lines, from what cause it flows. I have often thought how much happier I should have been, if, instead of accepting the command under such circumstances, I had taken my musket on my shoulder and entered the ranks, or, if I could have justified the measure to posterity and my own conscience, had retired to the back country, and lived in a wigwam."—*Washington to Joseph Reed.*

TUESDAY, JANUARY 16.

At Cambridge: A council of war, in which it was agreed that an attempt ought to be made to conquer the ministerial troops in Boston, but that the force was inadequate. The council, therefore, advised the Commander-in-Chief to request of the neighboring colonies thirteen regiments of militia, to serve till the first of April.

On the 18th, another council of war was held to consider the letters received the evening before from Canada, conveying intelligence of the death of General Montgomery and the disaster at Quebec. When the question was put, it was resolved to be inexpedient, in the present weakened state of the lines, to send a detachment from the main army to Canada; but the General was advised to request Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire to raise three regiments with all possible despatch for the Canada expedition, and that these regiments should be considered as part of the thirteen already required. John Adams as a member of the Continental Congress, and being then in Watertown, assisted at both of the above councils, by the special invitation of the Commander-in-Chief.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 18.

At Cambridge: "*January 18th.*—Col. Knox, of the artillery, came to camp. He brought from Ticonderoga a fine train of artillery, which had been taken from the British, both cannon and mortars, and which were ordered to be stopped at Framingham."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

Under instructions of 16th November, 1775, Henry Knox left Cambridge, to procure, as speedily as possible, from New York, Ticonderoga, Crown



Point, or St. Johns, all the cannon, mortars, shells, lead, and ammunition that could be obtained. He reached New York on the 25th, Albany on December 1, and Ticonderoga on the 5th. On the 9th he started homeward with his important charge, which consisted of fifty-five pieces of iron and brass ordnance, one barrel of flints, and twenty-three boxes (two thousand three hundred pounds) of lead. In alluding to the difficulties and dangers of this undertaking and its success, his biographer, Francis S. Drake, says: "This achievement stamped the character of Knox for boldness, enterprise, fertility of resource and genius, supplied the means for fortifying Dorchester Heights, and vindicated the judgment of Washington in selecting him for the important and responsible duties of the artillery and ordnance departments."

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 24.

At Cambridge: "*January 24.*—Dined at C.[olonel] Mifflin's, at Cambridge, with G. Washington and Gates and their ladies, and half a dozen sachems and warriors of the French Caghnawaga tribe, with their wives and children. . . The General introduced me to them as one of the grand council fire at Philadelphia, upon which they made me many bows and a cordial reception."—*Diary of John Adams.*

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 31.

At Cambridge: "I hope my countrymen of Virginia will rise superior to any losses the whole navy of Great Britain can bring on them, and that the destruction of Norfolk, and the attempted devastation of other places, will have no other effect, than to unite the whole country in one indissoluble bond. A few more of such flaming arguments, as were exhibited at Falmouth and Norfolk, added to the sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning contained in the pamphlet '*Common Sense*,'\* will not leave numbers at a loss to decide upon the propriety of a separation."—*Washington to Joseph Reed.*

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\* The celebrated pamphlet written by Thomas Paine, and published at Philadelphia in the early part of January, 1776. This powerful production, advocating an absolute separation from the mother country, inspired the people with a desire for independence, and united them in its support, more than anything else.

Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, who, after his repulse by the militia at the Great Bridge, on Elizabeth River, December 9, 1775, had abandoned Norfolk, and taken refuge on the fleet, gave notice, December 31, that he should cannonade the town. The cannonade was opened at four o'clock the next morning, and marines and sailors were sent on shore to set fire to the city. The conflagration raged about fifty hours, during which the cannonade was kept up, and a greater portion of the most compact part of the town was laid in ashes.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 9.

At Cambridge: "I have tried every method I could think of, to procure arms for the men. They really are not to be had in these governments, belonging to the public, and if some method is not fallen upon, in the southern governments, to supply us, we shall be in a distressed situation for want of them. There are near 2000 men now in camp without firelocks."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 10.

At Cambridge: "We have had the most laborious piece of work at Leechmere's Point, on account of the frost, that ever you saw. We hope to get it finished on Sunday. It is within as commanding a distance of Boston as Dorchester Hill, though of a different part."—*Washington to Joseph Reed.*

The return of February 10th showed a force of 8797 men fit for duty, besides officers and 1405 men on command who might be ordered to join their respective regiments immediately. The militia from the New England governments, arrived or about to arrive in camp, would, if the regiments were complete, number 7200, officers included. The intelligence from Boston indicated an active force of only 5000.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16.

At Cambridge: A council of war, in which the Commander-in-Chief advanced what he deemed strong reasons for making an immediate assault on the town of Boston, by proceeding from Cambridge and Roxbury over the ice. This opinion was overruled by the council, on the grounds

that there was not force enough for such an attempt, and that the army was deficient in arms and powder.

This council was held in pursuance of a resolution of Congress of December 22: "That if General Washington and his council of war should be of the opinion, that a successful attack may be made on the troops in Boston, he do it in any manner he may think expedient, notwithstanding the town and property in it may thereby be destroyed."

The adverse decision was a great disappointment to Washington, who was not only ready, but willing and desirous of making the assault. In reporting to Congress the conclusion of the council he said: "I have many disagreeable sensations on account of my situation; for, to have the eyes of the whole continent fixed with anxious expectation of hearing of some great event, and to be restrained in every military operation, for want of the necessary means of carrying it on, is not very pleasing, especially as the means, used to conceal my weakness from the enemy conceal it also from our friends, and add to their wonder."

#### SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 25.

At Cambridge: "*February 25th.*—Some heavy cannon were mounted on the works at Leechmore's Point."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"We have, under many difficulties on account of hard frozen ground, completed our work on Leechmore's Point. We have got some heavy pieces of ordnance placed there, two platforms fixed for mortars, and everything ready for any offensive operation. Strong guards are now mounted there, and at Cobble Hill."—*Washington to Joseph Reed*, February 26.

#### MONDAY, FEBRUARY 26.

At Cambridge: A council of war, in which it was decided to take possession of Dorchester Heights on the night of the 4th of March, that being the eve of the anniversary of the "Boston Massacre."

"All officers, non-commissioned Officers, and Soldiers, are positively forbid playing at cards and other games of chance. At this time of public distress men may find enough to do in the service of their God and their Country, without abandoning themselves to vice and immorality."—*Orderly Book*, February 26.

#### TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 27.

At Cambridge: *Orderly Book*.—"As the season is now

fast approaching when every man must expect to be drawn into the field of action, it is highly necessary that he should prepare his mind, as well as everything necessary for it. It is a noble Cause we are engaged in, it is the cause of virtue and mankind, every temporal advantage and comfort to us, and our posterity depends upon the Vigor of our exertions; in short, Freedom or Slavery must be the result of our conduct, there can therefore be no greater Inducement to men to behave well."

SATURDAY, MARCH 2.

At Cambridge: "*March 2d.*—At night, a cannonade and bombardment began at the American works, on Cobble Hill and Leechmore's Point on the Cambridge side, and at Lamb's Dam on the Roxbury side, against the British works; and a number of shells were thrown into Boston."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

SUNDAY, MARCH 3.

At Cambridge: "I hope in a few nights to be in readiness to take post on Dorchester Point, as we are using every means in our power to provide materials for this purpose; the ground being so hard froze yet, that we cannot intrench, and therefore are obliged to depend entirely upon chandeliers, fascines, and screwed hay for our redoubts. It is expected that this work will bring on an action between the king's troops and ours."—*Washington to Joseph Reed*.

"As it is not unlikely but a contest may soon be brought on, between the ministerial Troops, and this Army: The General flatters himself that every Officer, and Soldier, will endeavour to give, such distinguish'd proofs of his conduct, and good behaviour, as becomes men, fighting for everything that is dear, and valuable to Freemen; remembering at the same time what disgraceful punishment will attend a contrary behaviour."—*Orderly Book*, March 3.

MONDAY, MARCH 4.

At Cambridge: "*March 4th.*—There was an almost incessant roar of cannon and mortars during the night, on



both sides. The Americans took possession of Dorchester heights, and nearly completed their works on both the hills by morning. Perhaps there never was so much work done in so short a space of time."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"On the 26th ultimo I had the honor of addressing you, and then mentioned that we were making preparations for taking possession of Dorchester Heights. I now beg leave to inform you, that a council of general officers having determined a previous bombardment and cannonade expedient and proper, in order to harass the enemy and divert their attention from that quarter, on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday nights last, we carried them on from our posts at Cobble Hill, Lechmere's Point, and Lamb's Dam. . . Our taking possession of Dorchester Heights\* is only preparatory to taking post on Nook's Hill, and the points opposite to the south end of Boston."—*Washington to the President of Congress*, March 7.

#### TUESDAY, MARCH 5.

At Dorchester Heights: Awaiting an attack from General Howe. "His Excellency General Washington is present, animating and encouraging the soldiers, and they in return manifest their joy and express a warm desire for the approach of the enemy."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

"March 5th.—The British, it was expected, would attempt to dislodge the Americans from Dorchester heights. Signals had been prepared at Roxbury meeting-house to mark the moment. The detachment at Cambridge (designed to push into Boston in the boats) was paraded, not far from [Fort] No. 2, where it remained a good part of the day. But kind Heaven, which more than once saved the Americans when they would have destroyed themselves, did not allow the signals to be made. About 3500 of the British troops, it was said, had been sent down to the Castle [William], with the intent to have made an attack on the Americans; but about midnight, the wind blew almost a hurricane from the south; many windows were forced in, sheds and fences blown down, and some vessels drove on shore; and no attempt was made on the works."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

#### SATURDAY, MARCH 9.

At Cambridge: "From a gentleman out of Boston, confirmed by a paper from the selectmen there, we have un-

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\* "March 4.—To Exp<sup>d</sup> of myself and Party recong. Dorchester Heights previous to our possessing them. . £10.10."—*Washington's Accounts*.

doubted information of General Howe's preparing with great precipitancy to embark his troops; for what place we know not; Halifax it is said."—*Washington to Joseph Reed*.

"To-night I shall have a battery thrown up on Nooks Hill, with a design of acting as circumstances may require."—*Washington to the President of Congress*, March 9.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13.

At General Ward's Quarters, Roxbury: A council of war, in which it was determined, that if Boston was not evacuated the next day it would be advisable, at all events, to fortify Nook's Hill the next night.

Nook's Hill, Dorchester Point, completely commanded Boston, and on Saturday, March 16, a strong detachment was sent to fortify it. The British discovered it, and cannonaded it during the night. The Americans did not return the fire, but maintained their ground. General Howe then resolved to evacuate the town without further delay, and very early in the morning of the 17th (two o'clock), commenced the embarkation of his army. About nine o'clock the garrison left Bunker Hill, and a large number of boats, filled with troops and inhabitants, put off from the wharves of Boston.

SUNDAY, MARCH 17.

At Cambridge: "I have the pleasure to inform you, that this morning the ministerial troops evacuated the town of Boston without destroying it, and that we are now in full possession."—*Washington to Governor Cooke*.

"Cambridge, March 21.—Last Sabbath [March 17] a few hours after the enemy retreated from Boston, the Rev. Mr. Leonard [chaplain to General Putnam's command] preached an excellent sermon, in the audience of his Excellency the General [Washington], and others of distinction, well adapted to the interesting event of the day, from Exod. XIV. 25. 'And took off their chariot wheels, that they drave them heavily: so that the Egyptians said, Let us flee from the face of Israel, for the Lord fighteth for them against the Egyptians.'"—*Pennsylvania Evening Post*, March 30, 1776.

MONDAY, MARCH 18.

In Boston: Dines with James Bowdoin at the house of Mr. Erving.



## TUESDAY, MARCH 19.

At Cambridge: "The town, although it has suffered greatly, is not in so bad a state as I expected to find it; and I have a particular pleasure in being able to inform you, Sir, that your house has received no damage worth mentioning. Your furniture is in tolerable order, and the family pictures are all left entire and untouched."—*Washington to John Hancock.*

## WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20.

In Boston: The Commander-in-Chief enters the city with the main body of the army.

"Whitcomb's, Phinney's and Hutchinson's Regiments are to march into Boston this day, and remain there until further orders, they are to guard the Town and public stores there, and do all such fatigue and other duties, as the General commanding there, thinks proper to order—Every possible precaution will be taken to destroy the Infection of the small-pox. The Troops now in Boston [under General Putnam] are to march out, and join their respective Regiments, upon being relieved by the Regiments that are to march in."—*Orderly Book*, March 20.

## THURSDAY, MARCH 21.

At Cambridge: Issues a proclamation for the preservation of peace, good order, and discipline, and enjoining "All officers of the Continental army to assist the civil magistrates in the execution of their duty, and to promote peace and good order."

## SUNDAY, MARCH 24.

At Cambridge: "The fleet is still in Nantasket Road. . . On Wednesday night last [the 20th], before the whole of the fleet fell down to Nantasket, they demolished the Castle [William], and houses belonging to it, by burning them down, and the several fortifications. They left a great number of the cannon, but have rendered all of them, except a very few, entirely useless, by breaking off the trunions. Those few they spiked up; but they may be



made serviceable again ; some are already done.”— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 27.

At Cambridge: “I have just received intelligence that the whole of the ministerial fleet, besides three or four ships, got under way this evening at Nantasket Road, and were standing out for sea.”— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

On the day following the evacuation of Boston by the British, Washington, supposing that the next attempt would be against New York, ordered the whole body of riflemen and six regiments of the army under General Heath, to march for that city. He now, on the final departure of the fleet, ordered the whole army to the south, with the exception of five regiments left for the protection of Boston, under General Ward. The British fleet, with about ten thousand troops and one thousand refugees, had, however, sailed for Halifax, and General Howe did not arrive at Sandy Hook until the 29th of June. On July 3 he landed nine thousand men on Staten Island, and there awaited the arrival of his brother, Admiral Howe, with English regulars and Hessian hirelings.

THURSDAY, MARCH 28.

In Boston: “Thursday [March 28] the Lecture, which was established, and has been observed from the first settlement of Boston, without interruption, until within these few months past was opened by the Reverend Doctor Elliot. His Excellency General Washington, the other General Officers and their suites, having been previously invited, met in the Council Chamber, from whence, preceded by the Sheriff with his Wand, attended by the Members of the Council who had had the small pox, the Committee of the House of Representatives, the Selectmen, the Clergy, and many other Gentlemen, they repaired to the old Brick Meeting House, where an excellent and well adapted discourse was delivered from those words in the XXXIII. Chapter of Isaiah, and 20th verse. After divine service was ended his Excellency, attended and accompanied as before, returned to the Council Chamber, from whence they pro-

ceeded to the Bunch of Grapes tavern, where an elegant dinner was provided at the public expence; after which many very proper and pertinent toasts were drank. Joy and gratitude sat on every countenance, and smiled in every eye."—*Pennsylvania Evening Post*, April 9, 1776.

FRIDAY, MARCH 29.

At Cambridge: Receives and answers an address from the General Assembly of Massachusetts.

SUNDAY, MARCH 31.

At Cambridge: "The enemy left all their works standing in Boston and on Bunker's Hill; and formidable they are. The town has shared a much better fate than was expected, the damage done to the houses being nothing equal to report. But the inhabitants have suffered a good deal, in being plundered by the soldiery at their departure."—*Washington to John Augustine Washington*.

"To Exp<sup>d</sup> in visiting the several Islands in Boston Harbor—after the Evacuation of the Town by the Enemy. . £8.10."—*Washington's Accounts*.

MONDAY, APRIL 1.

At Cambridge: "Your letter of the 15th ultimo contained a very unfavorable account of the Carolinas, but I am glad to find by the subsequent one of the 23d, that the prospect brightens, and that Mr. Martin's first attempt, (through those universal instruments of tyranny, the Scotch,) hath met with its deserved success."—*Washington to Joseph Reed*.

Josiah Martin, Governor of North Carolina, having represented that a force of three or four thousand loyal men could be raised in the Carolinas, sent his agent, Alexander Maclean, into the back country, authorizing some of the inhabitants, chiefly Scotch, to form an "army" to be under the command of Donald Macdonald. At the appointed time in February, a force far inferior in numbers to what had been promised, assembled at Cross Creek (now Fayetteville), and, marching towards Wilmington, was met and defeated with great loss on the 27th of February, at Moore's Creek, by a body of Carolinians under Colonel Richard Caswell.

## WEDNESDAY, APRIL 3.

At Cambridge: "The chief part of the troops are marched from hence towards New York. I will set off to-morrow."  
— *Washington to General Arnold.*

By diploma of this date, April 3, 1776, Harvard College conferred on Washington, "who by the most signal smiles of Divine Providence on his military operations, drove the Fleet and Troops of the enemy with disgraceful precipitation from the town of Boston," the degree of Doctor of Laws.

## THURSDAY, APRIL 4.

At Cambridge: Receives and answers an address from the Selectmen of the town of Boston, and leaves for New York.

## FRIDAY, APRIL 5.

At Providence, Rhode Island: Meets Governor Nicholas Cooke and his Council, and is present in the evening at an entertainment given in his honor.

## MONDAY, APRIL 8.

At Norwich, Connecticut: Meets Governor Trumbull by appointment at Jedediah Huntington's, where they dine together. Leaves in the evening.

## TUESDAY, APRIL 9.

At New London, Connecticut: Meets Commodore Hopkins, and sleeps at the house of Captain Nathaniel Shaw.

## WEDNESDAY, APRIL 10.

At Lyme, Connecticut: Spends the night at the house of John McCurdy, and reaches New Haven on the following day.

## SATURDAY, APRIL 13.

At New York: "Last Saturday [April 13], His Excellency General Washington arrived at New York from Cambridge, attended by [William] Palfrey, Esq. his aid-de-camp, Horatio Gates, Esq. Adjutant General, and several other

gentlemen of distinction."—*Pennsylvania Evening Post*, April 16, 1776.

Washington's first head-quarters in New York were at a house in Pearl Street opposite Cedar, where he remained until summoned to visit Congress at Philadelphia, towards the end of May. On his return, June 6, he went to the Mortier House, later known as Richmond Hill, which stood on the spot since the southeast corner of Varick and Charlton Streets. Here he remained until the evacuation in September, when he moved to the "Roger Morris House," Harlem Heights.

SUNDAY, APRIL 14.

At New York: *Orderly Book*.—"The General compliments the Officers, who have successively commanded at this Post, and returns his Thanks to them, and to all the officers, and soldiers, under their Command for the many Works of Defence, which have been so expeditiously erected, and doubts not but the same Spirit of Zeal for the service will continue to animate their future conduct."

MONDAY, APRIL 15.

At New York: "I am now to inform you, that on the 4th instant I set out from Cambridge, and arrived here on Saturday last. I came through Providence, Norwich and New London, in order to see and expedite the embarkation of the troops."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17.

At New York: Mrs. Washington arrives at head-quarters.

THURSDAY, APRIL 18.

At New York: "The medal, intended to be presented to me by your honorable body, I shall carefully preserve as a memorial of their regard."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

On the 25th day of March, Congress in session passed the following resolution: "That the thanks of this Congress, in their own name, and in the name of the Thirteen United Colonies, whom they represent, be presented to his Excellency General Washington, and the Officers and Soldiers under his command, for their wise and spirited conduct in the siege and acquisition

of Boston; and that a Medal of gold be struck in commemoration of this great event, and presented to his Excellency."

The dies for the medal, ordered in pursuance of the above quoted resolution, were executed at Paris in 1786. The impression in gold struck for presentation to Washington remained in his possession until his death; it is now in the Boston Public Library, having been purchased in 1876 by subscription, and presented to the city. See Baker's "Medallic Portraits of Washington," page 27.

THURSDAY, APRIL 25.

At New York: "April 25.—To the Exp<sup>d</sup> of myself & party recon<sup>s</sup> the sev<sup>l</sup> Landing places &c on Staten Island. . £16.10."—*Washington's Accounts*.

MONDAY, APRIL 29.

At New York: Issues a proclamation forbidding intercourse and correspondence with the ships of war and other vessels belonging to and in the service of the King of Great Britain.

By the adjutant-general's return on the 28th of April, the number of troops present and fit for duty under General Washington's command was 8101. Including those who were sick, absent on furlough, and on command, the whole army at New York amounted to 10,235.

FRIDAY, MAY 17.

At New York: Observed, by order of Congress, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer.

"May. . To Exp<sup>d</sup> of a tour on, and recon<sup>s</sup> of Long Island. . £26.8.6."—*Washington's Accounts*.

TUESDAY, MAY 21.

At New York: "The Congress having been pleased to signify [resolution of May 16] a desire that I should repair to Philadelphia, in order to advise and consult with them on the present posture of affairs, and as I am on the point of setting out accordingly, I have to desire that you will cause the different works now in agitation to be carried on with the utmost expedition."—*Washington to General Putnam*.



Washington left New York on May 21 and arrived at Philadelphia on the 23d, at two o'clock in the afternoon, stopping on the way at Amboy, New Jersey, to "view," as he wrote to General Schuyler, "the ground, and such places on Staten Island contiguous to it, as may be proper for works of defence."

THURSDAY, MAY 23.

At Philadelphia: "On Thursday last [May 23] arrived here [Philadelphia], his Excellency General WASHINGTON from New York."—*Pennsylvania Journal*, May 29, 1776.

FRIDAY, MAY 24.

At Philadelphia: "Agreeable to order, General Washington attended in Congress, and, after some conference with him, *Resolved*, That he be directed to attend again tomorrow."—*Journal of Congress*, May 24.

SATURDAY, MAY 25.

At Philadelphia: "Agreeable to order, General Washington attended [Congress], and, after some conference with him, *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to confer with his excellency general Washington, Major-general Gates, and brigadier-general Mifflin, and to concert a plan of military operations, for the ensuing campaign."—*Journal of Congress*, May 25.

MONDAY, MAY 27.

At Philadelphia: "On Monday afternoon [May 27], Gen. Washington, the Members of Congress, Gen. Gates and Mifflin, reviewed the four battalions, the rifle battalion, the light horse, and 3 artillery companies of the city militia, amounting to near 2500 men, when they went through their manœuvres to general satisfaction. At the same time two battalions of the Continental troops were reviewed by the General. The Indians, who are come to town on business with the Congress, attended the General in reviewing the militia, &c."—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 29, 1776.

## WEDNESDAY, JUNE 5.

Leaves Philadelphia: Mrs. Washington, who had been with him during his stay (arriving on May 22), remained somewhat longer, being under inoculation for the small-pox. Washington left the city in the morning, attended by Generals Gates and Mifflin.

When President Hancock, under date of May 16, wrote to the Commander-in-Chief advising him of the resolution of Congress, requesting his presence in Philadelphia, he added: "I request the favor, that you will please to honor me with your and your lady's company at my house, where I have a bed at your service, and where every endeavour on my part and Mrs. Hancock's will be exerted to make your abode agreeable. I reside in an airy, open part of the city, in Arch Street, corner of Fourth Street." Washington, however, on his arrival at Philadelphia, received a note from Mr. Hancock, expressing his sorrow that it was not in his power to wait on him in person on account of a severe fit of the gout. From this note it does not appear that the General and Mrs. Washington availed themselves of the invitation.

## THURSDAY, JUNE 6.

At New York: "*New York*, June 10.—Thursday afternoon [June 6] his Excellency GENERAL WASHINGTON arrived in town from Philadelphia."—*Pennsylvania Journal*, June 12, 1776.

## SATURDAY, JUNE 8.

At New York: Receives and answers a resolution of thanks from the Provincial Congress of New York, for the "important services he has rendered to the United Colonies."

## TUESDAY, JUNE 18.

At New York: "*June 18.*—This afternoon, the Provincial Congress of New York gave an elegant entertainment to General Washington and his suite; the general and staff officers, and the commanding officer of the different regiments in and near the city."—*Diary of the American Revolution*.



## THURSDAY, JUNE 20.

At New York: "I have been up to view the grounds about Kingsbridge, and find them to admit of several places well calculated for defence, and, esteeming it a pass of the utmost importance, I have ordered works to be laid out."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

These works were of great importance in keeping open a communication with the country. They embraced the fort on an eminence near Hudson's River, called Fort Washington, the redoubts at Jeffrey's Point and on the hills north and east of Fort Washington, breastworks at Kingsbridge, and Fort Independence on the north side of Harlem Creek near its junction with the Hudson.

## WEDNESDAY, JUNE 26.

At New York: "June 26.—To Expen<sup>s</sup> in Recon<sup>s</sup> the Channel & Landings on both sides the N<sup>o</sup> River as high as Tarry Town to fix the defenses thereof. . £10.8."—*Washington's Accounts.*

"June. . To a Reconnoitre of the East River & along the Sound as far as Mamerineck. . £16.9.4."—*Washington's Accounts.*

## FRIDAY, JUNE 28.

At New York: *Orderly Book.*—"The unhappy fate of Thomas Hickey executed this day for Mutiny, Sedition, and Treachery; the General hopes will be a warning to every Soldier in the Army to avoid those crimes and all others, so disgraceful to the character of a Soldier, and pernicious to his country, whose pay he receives and Bread he eats."

Thomas Hickey, one of Washington's Guard, was tried by a court-martial and sentenced to death, being found implicated in a plot to murder the American general officers on the arrival of the British, or at best to capture Washington and deliver him to Sir William Howe. The plot had been traced to Governor Tryon, the mayor (David Matthews) having been a principal agent between him and the persons concerned in it.

## SATURDAY, JUNE 29.

At New York: "I just now received an express from an officer appointed to keep a look-out on Staten Island, that

forty-five [ships] arrived at the Hook to-day; some say more."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"June 29th.—The transports were coming in, during the whole day. At evening, nearly 100 sail had arrived. The General Officers were in council."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

SUNDAY, JUNE 30.

At New York: "When I had the honor of addressing you yesterday, I had only been informed of the arrival of Forty-five of the fleet in the Morning, since that I have received authentic Intelligence from Sundry persons, among them from Genl Greene, that One hundred and Ten Sail came in before night that were counted, and that more were seen about dusk in the offing."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"June 30th.—Mrs. Washington left the city."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

TUESDAY, JULY 2.

At New York: *Orderly Book.*—"The time is now near at hand, which must probably determine whether Americans are to be Freemen or Slaves, whether they are to have any property they can call their own, whether their Houses, and Farms, are to be pillaged and destroyed, and they consigned to a state of wretchedness from which no human efforts will probably deliver them. The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the Courage and conduct of this Army. Our cruel and unrelenting Enemy leaves us no choice but a brave resistance or the most Abject Submission; this is all that we can expect. We have therefore to resolve to conquer or die."

WEDNESDAY, JULY 3.

At New York: "Since I had the honor of addressing you and on the same day several ships more arrived within the Hook making the number that came in then, 110, and there remains no doubt of the whole of the Fleet from Halifax being now here. Yesterday Evening 50 of 'em

came into the Bay and anchored on the Staten Island side."  
— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

## TUESDAY, JULY 9.

At New York: *Orderly Book*.—"The Honr: Continental Congress, impelled by the dictates of duty, policy and necessity, having been pleased to dissolve the Connection which subsisted between this Country and Great Britain, and to declare the United Colonies of America free and independent STATES, The several brigades are to be drawn up this evening on their respective Parades at six o'clock, when the declaration of Congress, showing the grounds & reasons of this Measure, is to be read with an audible voice."

"*New York*, 10 July 1776.—Agreeably to the request of Congress, I caused the *Declaration* to be proclaimed before all the army under my immediate command; and have the pleasure to inform them, that the measure seemed to have their most hearty assent; the expressions and behaviour, both of officers and men, testifying their warmest approbation of it."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

## THURSDAY, JULY 11.

At New York: "General Howe's fleet from Halifax has arrived, in number about one hundred and thirty sail. His army is between nine and ten thousand, being joined by some of the regiments from the West Indies, and having fallen in with part of the Highland troops in his passage. He has landed his men on Staten Island, which they mean to secure, and is in daily expectation of the arrival of Lord Howe, with one hundred and fifty ships, with a large and powerful reinforcement."—*Washington to General Schuyler.*

"*July 3d.*—The British troops landed on Staten Island. A part of the stock had been taken off. The inhabitants, who were about 350 men, were supposed to be generally opposed to the revolution."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

## SUNDAY, JULY 14.

At New York: "General Sullivan, in a letter of the 2d instant, informs me of his arrival with the army at Crown Point, where he is fortifying and throwing up works. He



adds, that he has secured all the stores except three cannon left at Chamblee, which in part is made up by taking a fine twelve-pounder out of the Lake."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

After the failure of the attack on Quebec (December 31, 1775), and the death of Montgomery, the command of the forces in front of that place devolved upon Arnold, who was relieved, April 1, by General Wooster with reinforcements from Montreal. A month later General Thomas arrived at the camp, and, hearing of the approach of a large armament, land and naval, to Quebec, he retreated up the St. Lawrence, and finally to the mouth of the Sorel, where he found General Thompson with part of the troops detached by Washington from New York, who were making some preparations for defence. Shortly after his arrival he was taken ill with the small-pox, and died on the 2d of June at Chamblee. On his death, General Sullivan succeeded to the command, General Wooster having been recalled. By this time the force of the enemy had increased to thirteen thousand men, several regiments having arrived from Ireland, one from England, another from General Howe, and a body of Brunswick troops under Baron Reidesel. After the defeat of General Thompson at Three Rivers (June 8), and being joined by Arnold from Montreal (June 18), Sullivan gradually fell back to Crown Point, and the invasion of Canada came to an end. On the 6th of July Generals Schuyler and Gates arrived at Crown Point, and, that post not being considered tenable, the army, or what was left of it, was transported to Ticonderoga. Sullivan, being superseded by Gates, joined the main army under Washington.

#### MONDAY, JULY 15.

At New York: "Admiral Howe arrived on Friday last [July 12], and we hourly expect his fleet."—*Washington to General Schuyler.*

"This will be handed to you by Mr. Griffin, who has also taken upon him the charge and delivery of two packets containing sundry letters, which were sent to Amboy yesterday by a flag, and forwarded to me to-day by General Mercer. The letter addressed to Governor Franklin came open to my hands."—*Washington to the President of Congress, July 15.*

These packets contained Lord Howe's declaration of the appointment of himself and his brother as commissioners from the king, for granting free and general pardons. The letter to Governor Franklin requested him to give publicity to the said declaration in New Jersey.

#### WEDNESDAY, JULY 17.

At New York: "Yesterday evening a flag came from

General Howe with a letter addressed to 'George Washington, Esq., &c. &c.' It was not received, on the same principle that the one from Lord Howe was refused."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

On the 14th of July, Lord Howe, under a flag, sent a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, with the superscription "To George Washington, Esq.," which was not received, as it did not acknowledge the rank of the General. This action of Washington was endorsed by Congress in their resolution of July 17.

FRIDAY, JULY 19.

At New York: "We have the enemy full in view, but their operations are to be suspended, till the reinforcement (hourly expected) arrives, when I suppose there will soon be pretty warm work. Lord Howe is arrived. He and the General, his brother, are appointed commissioners to dispense pardons to repenting sinners."—*Washington to General Gates.*

"July. . To my own & Parties expences laying out Fort Lee on the Jersey side of the N<sup>o</sup> River. . £8.15."—*Washington's Accounts.*

MONDAY, JULY 22.

At New York: "We have General Howe's present army, consisting, by good report, of abt eight or nine thousand men upon Staten Island, covered by their Ships. We have Lord Howe just arrived (that is about 10 days ago), and we have ships now popping In, which we suppose but do not know, to be part of the Fleet with the expected Reinforcements. When this arrives, if the Report of Deserters, Prisoners, and Tories are to be depended upon, the Enemy's numbers will amount at least to twenty-five thousand men; ours to about fifteen thousand. More, indeed, are expected, but there is no certainty of their arrival, as Harvest and a thousand other excuses are urged as the Reasons of delay."—*Washington to John Augustine Washington.*

"July 23. To the Expence of Recon<sup>s</sup> the Country as far as Perth Amboy . . £19.10."—*Washington's Accounts.*



## SATURDAY AUGUST 3.

At New York: *Orderly Book*.—"The General is sorry to be informed that the foolish and wicked practice of profane cursing and swearing (a Vice heretofore but little known in an American Army), is growing into fashion; he hopes the officers will by example as well as influence endeavour to check it, and that both they and the men will reflect, that we can have little hope of the Blessing of Heaven on our Arms, if we insult it by our impiety and folly; added to this it is a vice so mean and low, without any temptation, that every man of sense and character, detests and despises it."

## WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 7.

At New York: "By two deserters this day, we have the following intelligence, namely, that General Clinton and Lord Cornwallis with the whole Southern army, have arrived [August 1] and landed on Staten Island from South Carolina, in number about three or four thousand."—*Washington to Governor Trumbull*.

Early in January, Sir Henry Clinton set sail from Boston to operate against the coasts of the southern provinces, and was joined at Cape Fear, May 3, by a considerable fleet under Admiral Sir Peter Parker, which had sailed from England with troops commanded by Lord Cornwallis. The united forces proceeded to Charleston Harbor, to make a combined attack by land and water upon Fort Sullivan, on Sullivan's Island, and then to seize the city and province. The fort, composed of palmetto logs and earth, was armed with twenty-six cannons and garrisoned by about five hundred men, chiefly militia, under Colonel William Moultrie. It commanded the channel leading to Charleston. The attack was made on June 28 with disastrous results to the fleet, and three days afterwards the British departed for New York; and the fort so gallantly defended was called Fort Moultrie in honor of its commander.

## TUESDAY, AUGUST 13.

At New York: *Orderly Book*.—"The Enemy's whole enforcement is now arrived, so that an attack must and will soon be made; the General therefore again repeats his earnest request, that every officer and soldier will have his arms and Ammunition in good order, keep within their



quarters and encampment, as much as possible; be ready for action at a moment's call; and when called to remember that Liberty, Property, Life and Honor, are all at stake."

"We must resolve to conquer or die; with this resolution, and the blessing of Heaven, Victory and Success, certainly will attend us: There will then be a glorious issue to this Campaign, and the General will reward his brave Fellow Soldiers with every Indulgence in his power."—*Orderly Book*, August 14.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 18.

At New York: "The whole of the British forces in America, except those employed in Canada, are now here, Clinton's arrival being followed the last week by that of Lord Dunmore, who now forms part of the army we are now to oppose. His coming has added but little to their strength."—*Washington to Governor Trumbull*.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 20.

At New York: *Orderly Book*.—"General Sullivan is to take command upon Long Island till General Greene's state of health will permit him to resume it."

"I have been obliged to appoint Major-General Sullivan to the command on the Island, owing to General Greene's indisposition; he has been extremely ill for several days, and still continues bad."—*Washington to the President of Congress*, August 23.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23.

At New York: "Yesterday morning, and in the course of the preceding night, a considerable body of the enemy, amounting by report to eight or nine thousand, and these all British, landed from the transport-ships mentioned in my last, at Gravesend Bay on Long Island, and have approached within three miles of our lines."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

"The Enemy have now landed on Long Island, and the hour is fast approaching, on which the Honor and Success of this Army, and the Safety of our Bleeding Country will depend. Remember, officers and soldiers, that you are freemen, fighting for the blessings of Liberty, that Slavery will be your

portion, and that of your posterity, if you do not acquit yourselves like men."—*Orderly Book*, August 23.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 24.

At Brooklyn, Long Island: General Putnam placed in command upon Long Island, General Sullivan retaining the immediate command of all the troops not within the lines at Brooklyn.

MONDAY, AUGUST 26.

At Brooklyn: Towards evening the Commander-in-Chief, in company with Generals Putnam, Sullivan, and other officers, rides down to the outposts near Flatbush, and examines the position of the enemy.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 27.

At Brooklyn: From a hill within the American lines, Washington watches the Battle of Long Island, and witnesses the total rout of Stirling's division and the slaughter of the Maryland battalions.

"The height upon which Washington stood was crowned by a redoubt, and occupied the block now bounded by Court, Clinton, Atlantic, and Pacific Streets."—*Field*, "Battle of Long Island."

WEDNESDAY AUGUST 28.

At Brooklyn: A council of war, in which it was decided "to give up Long Island, and not, by dividing the force, be unable to resist the enemy in any one point of attack."

"The council was held [at five o'clock in the evening] in the stone Dutch church which stood near the junction of the present Fulton and Flatbush Avenues. This church was designated in the order for the evening as an alarm post during the night, where they might rendezvous in the event of the movement being discovered by the British."—*Lossing*, "Field-Book," ii. 606.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 29.

At Brooklyn: With the army on its retreat from Long Island, embarking with the last of the troops, about six o'clock in the morning of August 30.

"*Long Island*, 29 August, half-past four, A.M.—Before this, you will probably have received a letter from Mr. Harrison, of the 27th, advising you of the engagement between a detachment of our men and the enemy on that day. . . There was some skirmishing, the greater part of yesterday, between parties from the enemy and our people; in the evening it was pretty smart. The weather of late has been extremely wet. Yesterday it rained severely the whole afternoon."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

## SATURDAY, AUGUST 31.

At New York: "Inclination as well as duty would have induced me to give Congress the earliest information of my removal, and that of the troops, from Long Island and its dependencies, to this city the night before last; but the extreme fatigue, which myself and family have undergone, as much from the weather since, as the engagement on the 27th, rendered me and them entirely unfit to take pen in hand. Since Monday, scarce any of us have been out of the lines till our passage across the East River was effected yesterday morning; and, for forty-eight hours preceding that, I had hardly been off my horse, and never closed my eyes; so that I was quite unfit to write or dictate till this morning."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

## FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 6.

At New York: "I was last night honored with your favor of the 3d, with sundry resolutions of Congress; and perceiving it to be their opinion and determination, that no damage shall be done to the city in case we are obliged to abandon it, I shall take every measure in my power to prevent it."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

"*In Congress, September 3d.—Resolved*, That General Washington be acquainted, that Congress would have special care taken, in case he should find it necessary to quit New York, that no damage be done to the said city by his troops on their leaving it: The Congress having no doubt of being able to recover the same, though the enemy should for a time obtain possession of it."

## SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7.

At New York: A council of war, in which it was con-



cluded to arrange the army under three divisions,—five thousand to remain for the defence of the city; nine thousand at Kingsbridge and its dependencies; the remainder to occupy the intermediate space, and support either.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

At New York: A council of war, in which it was determined to abandon the city.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13.

At New York: With the main body of the army moving towards Fort Washington and Kingsbridge.

Washington made the house of Robert Murray, near the corner of the present Thirty-Sixth Street and Fourth Avenue, his head-quarters on the 14th, and on the 15th he was at Mott's tavern, Harlem Plains. Early on the morning of the 15th, the enemy landed some troops at Kip's Bay, about the foot of the present Thirty-fourth Street, when two brigades of Connecticut troops (Parsons and Fellows), panic-stricken at the cannonade, fled in confusion. Washington, hearing the cannonade, hurried to the spot, and meeting the fugitives, made a vain attempt to rally them; enraged at their cowardice, he rode into the hottest fire, and was with difficulty turned back to a place of safety.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 16.

At Harlem Heights: Battle of Harlem Heights, during which Washington was at the Point of Rocks (an outpost), the present One Hundred and Twenty-Sixth Street and Ninth Avenue.

"September 16th.—A little before noon, a smart skirmish happened on the heights west of Haarlem Plain, and south of Morris's house, between a party of Hessian Yagers, British Light-Infantry and Highlanders, and the American riflemen and some other troops, which ended in favour of the latter. The troops fought well, on both sides, and gave great proof of their marksmanship. The Americans had several officers killed and wounded; among the former Lieut. Col. Knoulton, of the Connecticut line, and Capt. Gleason, of Nixon's Massachusetts regiment, two excellent officers."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17.

At Harlem Heights: *Orderly Book*.—"The General most

heartily thanks the troops commanded yesterday by Major Leitch, who first advanced upon the enemy, and the others who so resolutely supported them. The behavior of yesterday was such a contrast to that of some troops the day before [at Kip's Bay], as must show what may be done where Officers and Soldiers exert themselves."

Washington's head-quarters at Harlem Heights were at the "Roger Morris House," three miles north of the village of Harlem, and about a mile and a half south of Fort Washington. It was erected by Colonel Roger Morris, who married a daughter of Frederick Phillipse, owner of the Manor of Phillipsburg, which comprised a great portion of Westchester, and parts of Dutchess and Putnam Counties, New York. Morris adhered to the Crown, and when the British evacuated New York, in 1783, went to England with his family. The house, which is still standing, is almost opposite to the intersection of Tenth Avenue and One Hundred and Sixty-first Street with the old Kingsbridge road.

#### FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20.

At Kingsbridge: "*September 20th.*—The Commander in Chief, Maj. Gen. Putnam, and some other officers, came up to our General's division [at Kingsbridge], and rode round the camp, which, by the return, given in on the next day, consisted of 8771; but of these there was 1294 sick present, and 1108 sick absent."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"Our numbers, by sickness, desertion, &c., are greatly reduced. I have been trying these four or five days to get a return, but have not yet succeeded. I am sure, however, we have not more than twelve or fourteen thousand men fit for duty, whilst the enemy, who, it is said, are very healthy, cannot have less than near twenty-five thousand."—*Washington to John Augustine Washington*, September 22.

#### SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 22.

At Harlem Heights: "On Friday night [September 20], about eleven or twelve o'clock, a fire broke out in the city of New York, near the new, or St. Paul's church, as it is said, which continued to burn pretty rapidly till after sunrise the next morning. I have not been informed how the accident happened, nor received any certain account of the



damage. Report says many of the houses between the Broadway and the river were consumed."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

On this day, September 22, Captain Nathan Hale, who had volunteered to obtain information of the strength, situation, and future movements of the enemy, and who had been taken on his return with the information, was executed as a spy by order of Sir William Howe. It is a little singular that the untimely fate of the "Martyr Spy of the American Revolution," whose dying words, "*I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country,*" form his most fitting eulogy, is nowhere alluded to by Washington.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.

At Harlem Heights: "The enemy have formed a large encampment in the plains, or rather heights, below us, extending across from the East to the North River; but have attempted nothing as yet of a general nature."—*Washington to Governor Trumbull.*

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 26.

At Harlem Heights: In conference on this and the following day with a committee of Congress appointed to inquire into the state of the army and the best means of supplying their wants. Committee: Roger Sherman, Elbridge Gerry, and Francis Lewis.

On September 28, in the morning, Washington crossed the North River, "in order to view the post opposite [Fort Lee], and the grounds between that and Paulus Hook."

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 8.

At Harlem Heights: *Orderly Book.*—"The General, to prevent any plea of ignorance, again repeats his order against all kinds of Gaming, as destructive and pernicious to the service. He hopes the officers will set no examples of this kind, and that they will punish it among the men."

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 13.

At Harlem Heights: "Yesterday the enemy landed at Frog's Point, about nine miles from hence, further up the

Sound. Their number we cannot ascertain, as they have not advanced from the Point, which is a kind of island, but the water that surrounds it is fordable at low tide."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

"As the Enemy seems now to be endeavoring to strike some stroke, before the close of the Campaign, the General most earnestly conjures, both officers and men, if they have any Love for their Country, and Concern for its Liberties; regard to the safety of their Parents, Wives, Children and Countrymen, that they will act with Bravery, and Spirit, becoming the Cause in which they are engaged."—*Orderly Book*, October 13.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 16.

At General Lee's Quarters, Kingsbridge: \* A council of war, in which it was determined, in consequence of the enemy having landed the main body of their army at Frog's or Throck's Point (in the American rear), that the forces should be withdrawn into Westchester County, leaving sufficient garrison to defend Fort Washington and its dependencies.

Washington retained his head-quarters at Harlem Heights until October 21, when he moved to Valentine's Hill, Westchester County, and on the 23d established himself at White Plains, twenty-six miles northeast of New York.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 21.

At Valentine's Hill: "October 21st.—At about 4 o'clock, P.M. our General's [Heath's] division moved from above Kingsbridge, having, besides their light field-pieces, two heavy iron twelve-pounders. About 8 o'clock in the evening, they passed Gen. Lincoln's quarters, on Valentine's Hill, where the Commander in Chief was to spend the night. Our General [Heath] waited upon him, to know if he had any particular commands for him."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 22.

At Valentine's Hill: "I am confident your own good

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\* General Lee joined the main army October 14; he took command of the troops at Kingsbridge on the 16th.

sense, zeal, and activity will suggest to you the most probable means of making amends for the heavy loss we have sustained by the destruction of General Arnold's fleet upon Lake Champlain."—*Washington to General Schuyler*.

On the 11th of October, General Arnold, in command of a flotilla consisting of three schooners, two sloops, three galleys, and eight gondolas, was attacked near Valcour Island, Lake Champlain, by Sir Guy Carleton, commanding a strong armament of between twenty and thirty sail. Arnold succeeded in evading the enemy during the night, and finally with a small remnant of his squadron reached Crown Point, from whence he made sail for Ticonderoga. Carleton, after making several feints against the fort, returned to St. Johns, and cantoned his troops for the winter.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 28.

At White Plains: While the main army in four divisions, under Generals Lee, Heath, Sullivan, and Lincoln, was moving slowly up the western side of the Bronx River to White Plains, Washington was almost the whole time on horseback, reconnoitring the grounds, forming posts, and choosing sites for breastworks and redoubts.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 28.

At White Plains: Battle of White Plains, or Chatterton's Hill.

Chatterton's Hill, where the battle was fought, sixteen hundred Americans being engaged, is a commanding eminence west of the Bronx River, about a mile from White Plains. Washington's head-quarters, at the "Miller House," were to the north of the village, and east of that stream, the main body of the army being intrenched two miles beyond.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30.

At White Plains: Visits the several posts of the army.

On the night of the 31st of October, General Washington withdrew his army to a very strong position upon the heights of North Castle, about two miles in the rear of his first encampment, and five from White Plains, where he caused new works of defence to be thrown up.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 6.

At White Plains: "Yesterday morning the enemy made

a sudden and unexpected movement from the several posts they had taken in our front. They broke up their whole encampments the preceding night and have advanced towards Kingsbridge and the North River. . . In consequence of this movement I called a council of general officers to-day to consult on such measures as should be adopted in case they pursued their retreat to New York."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

The council agreed unanimously, that, in case the enemy were retreating towards New York, it would be proper immediately to throw a body of troops into Jersey; that those raised on the west side of Hudson's River should be detached for this purpose, and that three thousand men should be stationed at Peekskill and the passes of the Highlands.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 10.

At White Plains: "The late movement of the Enemy, and the probability of their having designs upon the Jerseys, (confirmed by sundry accounts from deserters and prisoners), rendering it necessary to throw a body of troops over the North River, I shall immediately follow, and the command of the army, which remains, (after General Heath's division marches to Peekskill,) will devolve upon you."—*Washington to General Lee.*

Washington left White Plains at eleven o'clock on the morning of November 10, and arrived at Peekskill, the entrance to the Highlands, at sunset.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11.

At Peekskill, New York: "November 11th.—The Commander in Chief directed our General [Heath] to attend him in taking a view of Fort Montgomery, and the other works up the river. Lord Sterling, Generals James and George Clinton, Gen. Mifflin and others were of the company. They went as far up the river as Constitution Island, which is opposite to West-Point, the latter of which was not then taken possession of; but the glance of the eye at it, without going on shore, evinced that this post was not to



be neglected. There was a small work and a block house on Constitution Island. Fort Montgomery was in considerable forwardness."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 12.

At Peekskill: Reconnoitres the eastern side of the Hudson, from Peekskill to the mountains, with General Heath, and about ten o'clock in the morning crosses the river at King's Ferry, into the Jerseys.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14.

At Fort Lee, New Jersey: "I have the honor to inform you of my arrival here yesterday, and that the whole of the troops belonging to the States, which lay south of Hudson's River, and which were in the New York government, have passed over to this side, except the regiment lately Colonel Smallwood's which I expect is now on their march."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

Fort Lee, Bergen County, New Jersey, was situated upon a sort of plateau, three hundred feet above the Hudson River (the Palisades), opposite the present One Hundred and Sixtieth Street of New York, and a short distance below Fort Washington. The army having gone into camp at Hackensack, five miles northwest of the Fort, Washington established his head-quarters at that place, in the house of Mr. Peter Zabriskie.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16.

At Fort Lee: "This day about twelve o'clock, the enemy made a general attack upon our lines about Fort Washington, which having carried, the garrison retired within the fort. Colonel Magaw finding there was no prospect of retreating across the North River, surrendered the post. The force of the garrison, before the attack was about two thousand men."—*Washington to General Lee*.

Washington was at head-quarters at Hackensack on November 15, when he was informed of the movement on Fort Washington. He immediately crossed the North River, and had partly crossed the North River, when he met Greene and Putnam, who were returning from the Fort, who stated that the troops were in high spirits, and would make a good defence; it



being late at night, he returned to Fort Lee. On the morning of the 16th, in company with Generals Putnam, Greene, Mercer, and other principal officers, Washington again crossed the river to the old head-quarters at the "Roger Morris House," from whence he surveyed the scene of operations. Having remained a short time, he retired. Fifteen minutes later the British troops took possession of the very spot on which the Commander-in-Chief, with the officers, had been standing.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19.

At Hackensack, New Jersey: "This [the surrender of Fort Washington] is a most unfortunate affair, and has given me great mortification; as we have lost not only two thousand men that were there, but a good deal of artillery, and some of the best arms we had. And what adds to my mortification is, that this post, after the last ships went past it, was held contrary to my wishes and opinion, as I conceived it to be a hazardous one."—*Washington to John Augustine Washington.*

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

At Hackensack: "Yesterday morning the Enemy landed a large Body of troops below Dobbs' Ferry, and advanced very rapidly to the Fort called by your Name [Fort Lee]. I immediately went over, and, as the Fort was not tenable on this side, and we were in a narrow neck of land, the passes out of which the enemy were attempting to seize, I directed the Troops to move over to the west side of Hackensack River."—*Washington to General Lee.*

Washington, finding that the army was in some danger of being pent up between the Hackensack and Passaic Rivers, moved, on the 21st, to the west side of the Passaic, crossing at Acquackanonk bridge. The retreat through the Jerseys begins, in which "often the music of the pursued and the pursuers would be heard by each other, yet no action occurred."

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23.

At Newark, New Jersey: "The situation of our affairs is truly critical, and such as requires uncommon exertions on our part. From the movements of the enemy, and the

information we have received, they certainly will make a push to possess themselves of this part of the Jerseys. In order that you may be fully apprized of our weakness, and of the necessity there is of our obtaining early succors, I have by the advice of the general officers here, directed General Mifflin to wait on you."— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

Washington arrived at Newark on the evening of the 22d, and remained until the morning of the 28th, the advance-guard of the British army entering the town as his rear-guard left it; the next day he arrived at New Brunswick.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30.

At New Brunswick, New Jersey: "On Thursday morning I left Newark, and arrived here yesterday with the troops that were there. It was the opinion of all the generals, who were with me, that a retreat to this place was requisite and founded in necessity."— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 1.

At New Brunswick: "The enemy are advancing, and have got as far as Woodbridge and Amboy, and, from information not to be doubted, they mean to push for Philadelphia. The force I have with me is infinitely inferior in numbers, and such as cannot give or promise the least successful opposition."— *Washington to General Lee.*

"Two brigades left us at Brunswick [by expiration of service], notwithstanding the enemy were within two hours march and coming on. The loss of these troops at this critical time reduced his Excellency to the necessity to order a retreat again. When we left Brunswick, we had not 8000 men."— *General Greene to Governor Cooke, December 4.*

MONDAY, DECEMBER 2.

At Princeton, New Jersey: "I arrived here this morning with our troops between eight and nine o'clock."— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 3.

At Trenton, New Jersey: "I arrived here myself yesterday morning, with the main body of the army, having left Lord Stirling with two brigades at Princeton and that neighborhood, to watch the motions of the enemy and give notice of their approach. . . Immediately on my arrival here, I ordered the removal of all the military and other stores and baggage over the Delaware; a great quantity is already got over."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Thomas Paine, who was "with the troops at Fort Lee, and marched with them to the edge of Pennsylvania," referring in the first paper of his *American Crisis*\* to the retreat through the Jerseys, wrote: "I shall not now attempt to give all the particulars of our retreat to the Delaware. Suffice it, for the present to say, that both officers and men, though greatly harassed and fatigued, frequently without rest, covering, or provision, the inevitable consequences of a long retreat, bore it with a manly and a martial spirit. All their wishes were one; which was, that the country would turn out, and help them to drive the enemy back. Voltaire has remarked, that King William never appeared to full advantage, but in difficulties and in action. The same remark may be made on General Washington, for the character fits him. There is a natural firmness in some minds, which cannot be unlocked by trifles, but which, when unlocked, discovers a cabinet of fortitude and I reckon it among those kind of public blessings which we do not immediately see, that God hath blessed him with uninterrupted health, and given him a mind that can even flourish upon care."

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5.

At Trenton: "I shall this day reinforce Lord Stirling [at Princeton] with about twelve hundred men, which will make his number about two thousand four hundred. Tomorrow I mean to repair to Princeton myself, and shall order the Pennsylvania troops, who are not yet arrived, except part of the German battalion and a company of light infantry, to the same place. By last advices, the enemy are still at Brunswick; and the account adds, that General Howe was expected at Elizabethtown with a reinforcement, to

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\* Published at Philadelphia in December, 1776. This is the paper commencing with the well-known words: "THESE ARE THE TIMES THAT TRY MEN'S SOULS."



erect the King's standard, and demand submission of this State."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6.

At Trenton: "To-day I shall set out for Princeton myself, unless something should occur to prevent me, which I do not expect."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 8.

At Mr. Berkeley's Summer-Seat, Pennsylvania: "Colonel Reed would inform you of the intelligence, which I first met with on the road from Trenton to Princeton yesterday. Before I got to the latter, I received a second express informing me, that, as the enemy were advancing by different routes, and attempting by one to get in the rear of our troops, which were there, and whose numbers were small, and the place by no means defensible, they had judged it prudent to retreat to Trenton. The retreat was accordingly made, and since to this side of the river. . . In the disordered and moving state of the army, I cannot get returns; but, from the best accounts, we had between three thousand and three thousand five hundred men, before the Philadelphia militia and German battalion arrived; they amount to about two thousand."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Washington crossed the Delaware at Trenton with the rear-guard of the army, early in the morning of the 8th, and about eleven o'clock the same morning, the British came marching down to the river, expecting to cross, but no boats were within reach, all having been collected and secured on the west bank.

The house in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, from which the above-quoted letter was written, was owned by Thomas Barclay,\*—not Berkeley, as given

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\* Thomas Barclay, a prominent citizen of Philadelphia, was an Irishman by birth. He was one of the original members of "The Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick," organized at Philadelphia in 1771, the parent of the present "Hibernian Society," and its president from June 17, 1779, to June 17, 1781. In 1780, Mr. Barclay subscribed five thousand pounds to the Pennsylvania Bank, an institution "established for furnishing a supply of provisions for the armies of the United States."

by Washington. Mr. Barclay purchased the property, containing two hundred and twenty-one acres, in April, 1778, and it is presumed that he erected the house. In November, 1791, the premises, known as "Summer Seat," passed into the hands of Robert Morris, the Financier of the Revolution. The house, which is still standing, about half a mile from the Delaware, in Morrisville, opposite Trenton, is now owned and occupied by John H. Osborne. These head-quarters were retained until December 14.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 9.

At Barclay's: "General Mifflin is this moment come up, and tells me, that all the military stores yet remain in Philadelphia. This makes the immediate fortifying of the city so necessary, that I have desired General Mifflin to return and take charge of the stores; and have ordered Major-General Putnam immediately down to superintend the works and give the necessary directions."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12.

At Barclay's: "You are to post your Brigade at and near Bristol. Col. Nixon's Regiment to continue where it is at Dunk's Ferry [below Bristol]."—*Washington to Colonel Cadwalader.*

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13.

At Barclay's: "I shall remove further up the River to be near the Main body of my Small Army, with which every possible opposition shall be given to any further approach of the Enemy towards Philadelphia."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"On the 14th, Washington moved to the farm-house of William Keith, built in 1763, and still standing, on the road from Brownsburg to the Eagle tavern. These quarters were retained until December 25. Here he was near the upper fords of the Delaware, at which it was supposed the enemy would attempt to cross, and within a half-hour's ride of Newtown, the depot of supplies."—*W. W. H. Davis, "Pennsylvania Magazine,"* iv. 133.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15.

At Keith's: "With the utmost regret I must inform you



of the loss our army has sustained by the captivity of General Lee, who was made a prisoner on the morning of the 13th by a party of seventy of the enemy's light-horse, near a place called Vealtown, in the Jerseys."—*Washington to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania.*

Notwithstanding many earnest appeals and orders from Washington to join the main army, Lee, who had been left at North Castle, New York, with a force of three thousand men, so delayed his start, and moved so slowly when started, that he only reached Morristown, New Jersey, on the 11th of December, having crossed the Hudson on the 4th. On the 12th the troops were marched to Vealtown, now Bernardsville, eight miles distant, and Lee took up his quarters three miles off, at Mrs. White's tavern, at the village of Basking Ridge, where he was taken prisoner the following morning. General Lee was not exchanged until April 21, 1778; he rejoined the army at Valley Forge, May 20.

#### WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 18.

At Keith's: "Since I came on this side, I have been joined by about two thousand of the city militia, and I understand, that some of the country militia (from the back counties), are on their way. But we are in a very disaffected part of the Province; and, between you and me, I think our affairs are in a very bad situation. . . You can form no idea of the perplexity of my situation. No man, I believe, ever had a greater choice of difficulties, and less means to extricate himself from them. However, under a full persuasion of the justice of our cause, I cannot entertain an Idea, that it will finally sink, tho' it may remain for some time under a cloud."—*Washington to John Augustine Washington.*

#### FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20.

At Camp above Trenton Falls: "The division of the army, lately under the command of General Lee, now of General Sullivan, is just upon the point of joining us. . . General Gates, with four eastern regiments is also near at hand.—P. S. Generals Gates and Sullivan have this instant come in."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

By the adjutant's return on the 22d of December, the army under Washington amounted to 10,106 men, rank and file. Of this number 5399 were sick on command, and on furlough; leaving an immediate effective force of 4707. But this return did not include the four regiments just arrived from the northern army, nor Lee's division, now commanded by Sullivan, nor the Pennsylvania militia, under General Cadwalader, at Bristol. The four regiments, having been greatly reduced by disease, amounted to about twelve hundred, Cadwalader's militia to eighteen hundred, and Sullivan's division to about three thousand.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 23.

At Camp above Trenton Falls: "Christmas day at night, one hour before day, is the time fixed upon for our attempt on Trenton. For Heaven's sake keep this to yourself, as the discovery of it may prove fatal to us."—*Washington to Colonel Cadwalader.*

Four brigades, under Generals Stirling, Mercer, Stephen, and De Fermoy, had been posted on the Delaware to guard the fords above Trenton, the troops being stationed at the crossings from Yardley's up to Coryell's Ferry, now New Hope. This and the letter of December 20 were written from one of these camps, probably that of Lord Stirling, at Beaumont's, eleven miles up the river, which Washington had also visited on the 10th. The Commander-in-Chief returned to head-quarters at Keith's on the evening of December 24.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 25.

At McKonkey's Ferry, on the Delaware: Crosses the river a little before midnight, the transportation of the troops, about two thousand four hundred, being completed at three o'clock in the morning of the 26th. Marches with the army to Trenton, New Jersey.

The command was formed into two divisions under Generals Sullivan and Greene, one to march by the lower or river road, the other by the upper or Pennington road. Washington marched with the upper division under Greene, which arrived at the enemy's advanced post at eight o'clock, a few minutes earlier than the lower division. McKonkey's Ferry, now Taylorsville, on the Pennsylvania side of the river, and designated on the Jersey shore as "Washington's Crossing," is about nine miles above Trenton. A bridge nine hundred feet long now takes the place of the old ferry.

## THURSDAY, DECEMBER 26.

At Trenton: Surprises the Hessians, who, after a short and decisive engagement, surrender, and recrosses the river the same evening, with nearly a thousand prisoners, the same number of arms, and several cannon.

## FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27.

At Newtown, Pennsylvania: "I have the pleasure of congratulating you upon the success of an enterprise, which I had formed against a detachment of the enemy lying in Trenton, and which was executed yesterday morning."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Newtown, where Washington made his head-quarters after the battle of Trenton, then the county-seat of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, is about five miles west of the Delaware River, and about the same distance southwest of Taylorsville. The house occupied was the property of John Harris; it was retained by Washington as his quarters until December 29, when he set out to recross the Delaware.

## SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29.

At Newtown: "I am just setting out to attempt a second passage over the Delaware, with the troops that were with me on the morning of the 26th."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

## MONDAY, DECEMBER 30.

At Trenton: This morning Washington crossed the Delaware at McKonkey's Ferry, in advance of the troops, and proceeded to Trenton.

Washington's head-quarters at Trenton were at the house of Major John Barnes (a Loyalist), on the west side of Queen, now Greene Street, a short distance north of the Assunpink Creek. These quarters he retained until January 2, when he moved to the "True American Inn," on the south side of the creek.

# 1777.

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## WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 1.

At Trenton : "On Monday morning [December 30, 1776,] I passed the Delaware myself; the whole of our troops and artillery not till yesterday, owing to the ice, which rendered their passage extremely difficult and fatiguing. . . General Mifflin is at Bordentown with about eighteen hundred men, and General Cadwalader at Crosswicks with about the same number."— *Washington to the President of Congress*.

The troops under Generals Mifflin and Cadwalader, composed of Pennsylvania militia, joined the main army at Trenton by a night march, on the 1st.

## THURSDAY, JANUARY 2.

At Trenton : The enemy, who were in force at Princeton, under Lord Cornwallis, advanced during the day, the head of their column reaching Trenton about four o'clock in the afternoon. After making several attempts from the north, to cross a small bridge spanning the Assunpink Creek, to the south of which the army was encamped, they halted for the night. Washington, having discovered by this time that they were greatly superior in number, called a council of war, in which it was decided to abandon the Delaware, and by marching silently in the night gain the rear of the troops still at Princeton, and, if possible, strike a blow at New Brunswick, the depository of the British stores. Accordingly, after renewing all the fires, the army left its position at midnight, and by a circuitous route reached Princeton, ten miles distant, about sunrise of the 3d.

The council of war was held at the Douglas House, nearly two squares south of the creek, on ground now occupied by the German Lutheran Church.

## FRIDAY, JANUARY 8.

At the battle of Princeton: The seventeenth and fifty-fifth regiments of the British brigade, commanded by Colonel Mawhood, being defeated, the former retreated towards Trenton, and the latter to New Brunswick, as did also the fortieth, which took little part in the action.

. Washington pursued the enemy as far as Kingston, beyond the Millstone River, three miles northeast of Princeton, and then filing off to the left, after destroying the bridge, marched to Somerset Court-house, now Millstone, where the troops bivouacked for the night. "Washington and some of his staff quartered at the residence of John Van Doren, just south of the village; the house is still standing, as is the barn in which the general's horse was stabled." \* In the morning the army continued the march over the hills to Pluckamin, twenty miles north of Princeton, which place was reached during the afternoon.

When Horace Walpole heard of the affair at Trenton, and Washington's night march to Princeton, he wrote to Sir Horace Mann: "Washington the dictator, has shown himself both a Fabius and a Camillus. His march through our lines is allowed to have been a prodigy of generalship."

## SUNDAY, JANUARY 5.

At Pluckamin, New Jersey: "Fortune has favored us in an attack on Princeton. . . . Three regiments of British troops were quartered there, which we attacked and routed. The number of the killed, wounded, and prisoners amounts to about five or six hundred. . . . After the action we immediately marched for this place. I shall remove from hence to Morristown."—*Washington to General Putnam*.

"January 5th, 1777.—This morning the General ordered 40 of our Light Infantry to attend the funeral of Col. Leslie one of the enemy [wounded at Princeton], to bury him with the honors of war."—*Diary of Captain Thomas Rodney*, "Papers of the Hist. Soc. of Delaware," viii.

## MONDAY, JANUARY 6.

At Morristown, New Jersey: "January 6th.—We left Pluckemin this morning and arrived at Morristown just before sunset."—*Diary of Captain Thomas Rodney*.

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\* The "Story of an Old Farm," by Andrew D. Mellick, p. 382.



At Morristown, Washington made his head-quarters at a tavern owned and kept by Colonel Jacob Arnold, on the northwest side of the Public Square. It was a frame building, which was removed in 1886.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 18.

At Morristown: "The enemy by two lucky strokes, at Trenton and Princeton, have been obliged to abandon every part of Jersey except Brunswic and Amboy, and the small tract of country between them, which is so entirely exhausted of supplies of every kind, that I hope, by preventing them from sending their foraging parties to any great distance, to reduce them to the utmost distress, in the course of this winter."—*Washington to General Schuyler.*

MONDAY, JANUARY 20.

At Morristown: "Our affairs here are in a very prosperous train. Within a month past, in several engagements with the enemy, we have killed, wounded, and taken prisoners between two and three thousand men. I am very confident, that the enemy's loss here will oblige them to recall their force from your State."—*Washington to Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island.*

On the 26th of December, 1776, the squadron of Sir Peter Parker, bearing between eight and ten thousand men, British and Hessians, commanded by General Clinton and Earl Percy, entered Narragansett Bay. The troops landed about four and a half miles above Newport, and took possession of Rhode Island. Early in May, 1777, General Clinton, with nearly half the army, left for New York, and the command devolved upon Major-General Prescott, who was superseded in 1778 by Sir Robert Pigot, with reinforcements. In August, 1778, General Sullivan in conjunction with the French fleet under D'Estaing undertook to regain possession of Rhode Island, but the attempt was unsuccessful, and Sullivan, after the battle of August 29 (Quaker Hill), was forced to evacuate the Island. The British held possession until October 25, 1779, when Sir Henry Clinton, apprehending an attack upon New York by the combined forces of the French and Americans, withdrew the troops.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 23.

At Morristown: "The Philadelphia Troop of Light Horse

under the command of Captain Morris, having perform'd their Tour of duty are discharged for the present.

"I take this Opportunity of returning my most sincere thanks to the Captain and to the Gentlemen who compose the Troop, for the many essential Services which they have rendered to their Country, and to me personally during the Course of this severe Campaign. Tho' composed of Gentlemen of Fortune, they have shewn a noble Example of discipline and subordination, and in several Actions have shewn a Spirit of Bravery which will ever do Honor to them and will ever be gratefully remembered by me."—*Washington to the Philadelphia Troop of Light Horse.*

FRIDAY, JANUARY 24.

At Morristown: "While our dependence is upon militia, we have a full army one day, and scarce any the next; and I am much afraid, that the enemy one day or other, taking advantage of one of these temporary weaknesses, will make themselves masters of our magazines of stores, arms, and artillery."—*Washington to Governor Trumbull.*

The letter from which the above extract is made was sent as a circular to each of the New England States. After alluding to the want of a regular body of troops, on whom he could depend for a length of time, and urging the prompt equipment of the battalions allotted to each State by the resolutions of Congress of September, 1776, Washington wrote: "Nothing but their [the enemy's] ignorance of our numbers protects us at this very time, when, on the contrary, had we six or eight thousand regular troops, or could the militia, who were with me a few days ago, have been prevailed upon to stay, we could have struck such a stroke, as would have inevitably ruined the army of the enemy, in their divided state."

SATURDAY, JANUARY 25.

At Morristown: Issues a proclamation commanding and requiring every person who had signed a declaration of fidelity, taken the oath of allegiance, and engaged not to take up arms against the King of Great Britain, to repair to head-quarters within thirty days, and there deliver up such protection, certificate, and passport, and take the oath

of allegiance to the United States of America, or withdraw within the British lines.

This proclamation, which was issued to counteract the effects of one by Lord Howe and General Howe, November 30, 1776, promising amnesty to all in rebellion who should, within sixty days, return to their allegiance, was objected to by the Legislature of New Jersey, that body regarding it as a violation of State supremacy. Others again, jealous of the extraordinary powers vested by Congress in Washington (December 27, 1776), questioned whether he had not transcended these powers, and exercised a degree of despotism.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 26.

At Morristown: "Reinforcements come up so extremely slow, that I am afraid I shall be left without any men before they arrive. The enemy must be ignorant of our numbers, or they have not horses to move their artillery, or they would not suffer us to remain undisturbed."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

At Morristown: "The cry of want of Provisions comes to me from all Quarters—Genl Maxwell writes word that his men are starving—Genl Johnston, of Maryland yesterday informed me that his people could draw none—this difficulty I understand prevails also at Chatham—What Sir is the meaning of this?—& why were you so desirous of excluding others from this business when you are unable to accomplish it yourself? Consider, I beseech you, the consequences of this neglect."—*Washington to Commissary Irvine.*

SATURDAY, MARCH 1.

At Morristown: *Orderly Book.*—"Alexander Hamilton Esq<sup>r</sup> is appointed Aide de Camp to the Commander in Chief, and is to be respected and obeyed as such."

The appointment of Hamilton as a member of the military family of Washington brought out the following congratulatory letter from his early preceptor Hugh Knox, dated *St. Croix, December 10, 1777*, which in the light of history may be considered remarkably prophetic: "The honorable post

you hold under the GREAT General Washington, and so near his person, will give you a peculiar advantage for delineating his character, both in his amiable private virtues, and military abilities. And depend upon it, the very minutiae of that incomparable man will be read with avidity by posterity. You know me too well, I hope, to suspect me of superstition; yet I feel myself, at times, under a strong impulse to *prophecy*, that *Washington* was born for the deliverance of America—that that Providence who has raised and trained him up for that very purpose, will watch over his *sacred* life with a paternal and solicitous care; will shield his head in every day of battle—*will* give him to see America *free, flourishing, and happy*—and *will* adorn his fame, among latest posterity, with a Garland of Laurel, more verdant, blooming, and enviable, than ever adorned the brow of a Marlborough."

Hugh Knox, D.D., was born in Ireland about 1738, and emigrated to this country in 1751. He was graduated at Princeton in 1754, and, after studying theology a year longer, was ordained. Dr. Knox settled at St. Croix, and became pastor of the Presbyterians who were living on that island. Alexander Hamilton was placed under his instruction in boyhood. He died October, 1790.

#### SUNDAY, MARCH 2.

At Morristown: "General Howe cannot, by the best intelligence I have been able to get, have less than ten thousand men in the Jerseys and on board of transports at Amboy. Ours does not exceed four thousand. His are well disciplined, well officered, and well appointed. Ours raw Militia, badly officered, and under no Government."—*Washington to Robert Morris.*

#### THURSDAY, MARCH 6.

At Morristown: "I tell you in confidence, that, after the 15th of this month, when the time of General Lincoln's militia expires, I shall be left with the remains of five Virginia regiments, not amounting to more than as many hundred men, and parts of two or three other Continental battalions, all very weak. The remainder of the army will be composed of small parties of militia from this State and Pennsylvania, on which little dependence can be put, as they come and go when they please."—*Washington to Governor Trumbull.*



## FRIDAY, MARCH 14.

At Morristown: "From the most accurate estimate that I can form, the whole of our numbers in Jersey, fit for duty at this time, is under three thousand. These, nine hundred and eighty-one excepted, are militia, and stand engaged only till the last of this month. The troops under inoculation, including their attendants, amount to about one thousand."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Such had been the melancholy and deplorable situation of the army the preceding campaign, particularly in Canada, from the ravages of the small-pox, that very efficient measures had been taken this winter to prevent the disease from spreading among the soldiers. An establishment for inoculation was provided near Morristown for the troops in camp; one at Philadelphia for those coming from the south; another under the direction of General Parsons in Connecticut for the soldiers in that State; and another at Providence.

## SATURDAY, MARCH 15

At Morristown: "*Morristown, March 15, 1777.*—His Excellency has been ill for some days, but is now perfectly recovered, and has the satisfaction of his amiable lady's company, who arrived here this day in good health."—*Letter in the Continental Journal, March 27.*

"*Kingston, 26 March 1777.*—No circumstance could have more contributed to our happiness than to hear of the General's recovery; which, believe me, gave universal joy. Be pleased to make my most respectful compliments to his lady."—*Gouverneur Morris to Alexander Hamilton.*

## SATURDAY, MARCH 22.

At Morristown: "*March 22.*—Went to Morristown. Finished my business with the Paymaster, and drank tea at headquarters, General Washington and his lady being of the company, and then took leave of the General."—*Journal of Colonel Timothy Pickering.*

## TUESDAY, APRIL 15.

At Morristown: "The designs of the enemy are not as yet closely unfolded, but Philadelphia I conceive is the ob-

ject in view; however, this may or may not be the case; as the North River must also be an object of very great importance to them, whilst they have an army in Canada and are desirous of a junction with it."—*Washington to Landon Carter.*

MONDAY, APRIL 28.

At Morristown: "At three o'clock this morning I received your favor of the 27th. The intelligence it contains is interesting and truly distressing. By this time I fear the enemy have effected their purpose and destroyed all the stores at Danbury."—*Washington to General McDougall.*

On the 25th of April, in the afternoon, two thousand British troops landed at Compo, near Fairfield, Connecticut, under the command of Governor Tryon. They reached Danbury the next day at four o'clock in the afternoon, and immediately set fire to the public stores and several private dwellings. On the return to their ships, they were met at Ridgefield by Generals Silliman, Arnold, and Wooster, with six hundred militia hastily collected, and a sharp conflict ensued. General Wooster was wounded and died on the 2d of May. Sixteen hundred tents which had been removed from Peekskill to Danbury for safe keeping were destroyed.

THURSDAY, MAY 8.

At Morristown: *Orderly Book.*—"As few vices are attended with more pernicious consequences in civil life; so there are none more fatal in a military one, than that of GAMING; which often brings disgrace and ruin upon officers, and injury and punishment upon the soldiery; And reports prevailing, which it is to be feared are too well founded, that this destructive vice has spread its baneful influence in the army, and, in a peculiar manner, to the prejudice of the recruiting service. The Commander in chief, in the most pointed and explicit terms, forbids ALL Officers and Soldiers, playing at cards, dice, or at any games, except those of EXERCISE, for diversion; it being impossible if the practice be allowed, at all, to discriminate between innocent play, for amusement, and criminal gaming for pecuniary and sordid purposes."

"Let vice and immorality of every kind be discouraged as much as possible in your brigade; and, as a chaplain is allowed to each regiment, see that the men regularly attend divine worship. Gaming of every kind is expressly forbidden, as being the foundation of evil, and the cause of many a brave and gallant officer's ruin. Games of exercise for amusement may not only be permitted but encouraged."—*Washington's Instructions to the Brigadier Generals*, May 26.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 28.

At Morristown: "I am just moving to Boundbrook [Middlebrook], from whence I returned yesterday morning. On Monday morning a body of the enemy advanced near that post. They retreated, on seeing a detachment march to meet them."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

At this time the troops under Washington's immediate command, over seven thousand strong, were those from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, in all forty-three regiments, including Hazen's. They were divided into ten brigades; and into five divisions, of two brigades each, under Major-Generals Greene, Stephen, Sullivan, Lincoln, and Stirling. The artillery was commanded by Knox. The New York and eastern troops were chiefly at Peekskill and Ticonderoga.

THURSDAY, MAY 29.

At Middlebrook, New Jersey: Establishes head-quarters, where he remains (except as noted) until July 3.

Middlebrook, Somerset County, New Jersey, is on the Raritan River, fifteen miles south of Morristown. Middlebrook and Boundbrook lie close together, and are included in one village.

TUESDAY, JUNE 17.

At Middlebrook: "The main body of our army is encamped at Middlebrook, and a considerable body under General Sullivan at Sourland Hills. . . . The enemy are strongly posted, having their right at Brunswick and their left at Somerset."—*Washington to General Arnold*.

SUNDAY, JUNE 22.

At Middlebrook: "11 o'clock P.M.—The enemy evacuated Brunswick this morning and retired to Amboy, burning



many houses as they went along. . . Our people pursued them as far as Piscataway; but finding it impossible to overtake them, and fearing they might be led too far from the main body, they returned to Brunswick."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 25.

At Quibbletown, New Jersey: "After the evacuation of Brunswick, I determined with the advice of my general officers, to move the whole army the next morning to this post, where they would be nearer the enemy, and might act according to circumstances. In this I was prevented by rain, and they only moved yesterday morning."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Quibbletown (now New Market), Middlesex County, New Jersey, is about six miles from Middlebrook on the road to Amboy.

THURSDAY, JUNE 26.

At Middlebrook: On the morning of the 26th, General Howe advanced with his whole army in several columns from Amboy, as far as Westfield, with the design of either bringing on a general engagement, or to possess himself of the heights and passes in the mountains on the American left. Washington, perceiving this, put the troops in motion and regained the camp at Middlebrook. After some skirmishing the enemy retired on the 27th to Amboy.

SATURDAY JUNE 28.

At Middlebrook: *Orderly Book.*—"All chaplains are to perform divine service to-morrow, and on every other succeeding Sunday, with their respective brigades and regiments, when their situations will admit of it, and the commanding officers of corps are to see that they attend. The Commander-in-Chief expects an exact compliance with this order, and that it be observed in future as an invariable rule of practice, and every neglect will not only be considered a



breach of orders, but a disregard to decency, virtue, and religion."

TUESDAY, JULY 1.

At Middlebrook: "The ships that were at Amboy moved down round Staten Island this morning, and all the troops that were encamped opposite to the town struck their tents and marched off. Upon the whole, there is the strongest reason to conclude that General Howe will push up the river immediately to cooperate with the army from Canada, which, it appears from the accounts transmitted by General St. Clair, has certainly in view an attack on Ticonderoga and the several dependent posts."—*Washington to General Putnam.*

"The day before yesterday he [General Howe] threw the whole of his army over to Staten Island, and totally evacuated the State of New Jersey."—*Washington to General Schuyler, July 2.*

FRIDAY, JULY 4.

At Morristown: "The army marched yesterday for this place, where it will be more conveniently situated for succoring Peek's Kill, or the Eastern States, and will be near enough to oppose any design upon Philadelphia. General Sullivan is further advanced towards Peek's Kill."—*Washington to Governor Trumbull.*

"I am yet perplexed to find out the real intentions of the enemy; but, upon a presumption that their views are up the North River, I have advanced General Sullivan's division as far as Pompton, and the main body of the army to this place."—*Washington to General Armstrong, Morristown, July 4.*

THURSDAY, JULY 10.

At Morristown: "I this morning received a letter of the 7th instant from General Schuyler, a copy of which, and of its enclosure, I herewith send you. The intelligence which they contain [the evacuation of Ticonderoga] is truly interesting, supposing it just. . . In consequence of the advices from General St. Clair, and the probability there is that

General Howe will push against the Highland passes to cooperate with General Burgoyne, I shall, by the advice of my officers, move the army from hence to-morrow morning towards the North River."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

On the 1st of July, General Burgoyne, with an army of more than seven thousand men, including four hundred Indians, appeared before Ticonderoga, garrisoned with about two thousand under the command of Major-General Arthur St. Clair. General Burgoyne, perceiving that St. Clair had neglected to occupy Mount Hope and Mount Defiance, took possession of the former on the following day, and the latter, which completely commanded Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, on the night of the 4th. In a council of war on the 5th, called by St. Clair, it was decided to evacuate both forts, and at two o'clock on the 6th the troops were put in motion. The main body proceeded to Castleton, Vermont, but the rear-guard remained for the night at Hubbardton, where, on the following morning, a desperate, and to the Americans a disastrous battle was fought. The evacuation of Ticonderoga, without efforts at defence, was loudly condemned, and Congress, listening to the popular clamor, suspended St. Clair from command, and appointed General Gates to supersede General Schuyler in command of the northern department.

#### SATURDAY, JULY 12.

At Pompton Plains, New Jersey: "We have been prevented marching to-day by the rain; but, as soon as the weather permits, we shall proceed as expeditiously as we can towards the North River, and cross, or not, as shall appear necessary from circumstances."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"July 11.—The whole army marched from Morristown to Pompton Plains, about seventeen miles. . July 12. A rainy day. . 13th, the same. . 14th, marched to Van Aulen's, a mile east of Pond Church; 15th to Sovereign (Suffren's or Suffern's) tavern near the entrance to Smith's Clove."—*Pickering's Journal.*

#### SUNDAY, JULY 13.

At Pompton Plains: "This is the second day I have been detained here by the badness of the weather. As soon as it will permit, I shall prosecute my march through the Clove."—*Washington to General Schuyler.*

"Tradition reports that Washington had his head-quarters [at Pompton] in a little frame house, on the banks of the Wynockie, which stands at the bend of a road leading from the Ryerson Furnace to the Passaic County Hotel. It is opposite to a more imposing structure known as the Ryerson House. During the revolution it belonged to Capt. Arent Schuyler."—*Magazine of American History*, iii. 158.

TUESDAY, JULY 15.

At Suffern's Tavern: "The evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence is an Event of Chagrin and surprise, not apprehended nor within the compass of my reasoning. . . This stroke is severe indeed, and has distressed me much."—*Washington to General Schuyler*.

Suffern's Tavern, which Washington made his head-quarters until July 20th, was in Orange County, New York, near the entrance to the Clove.

"The Clove is extremely wild, and was scarcely known before the war: it is a sort of valley, or gorge, situated to the westward of the high mountains between New Windsor and King's Ferry, and at the foot of which are West Point and Stoney Point, and the principal forts which defend the river."—*De Chastellux*, i. 345.

FRIDAY, JULY 18.

At Suffern's Tavern: "Upon my Requisition, General Arnold, waiving for the present all dispute about rank, left Philadelphia and arrived here last Evening, and this day proceeds on his journey to join you."—*Washington to General Schuyler*.

SATURDAY, JULY 19.

At Suffern's Tavern: "Genl. Howe still lays intirely quiet on board the Fleet at Staten Island, very few troops remain on shore, and the destination a profound secret. Whatever were his intentions before this unlucky Blow to the Northward, he certainly ought in good policy to endeavor to cooperate with Genl. Burgoine. I am so fully of opinion that this will be his plan that I have advanced the Army thus far to support our party at Peeks Kill should the Enemy move up the River."—*Washington to General Heath*.



## SUNDAY, JULY 20.

At Galloway's in the Clove: "Went from Suffern's tavern into the Clove eleven miles. Head-quarters at Galloway's, an old log house. The General [Washington] lodged in a bed, and his family on the floor about him. We had plenty of sepawn and milk, and all were contented."—*Pickering's Journal*.

## MONDAY, JULY 21.

At Galloway's: "The intelligence, which occasioned us to advance from the Entrance of the Clove yesterday morning, I find to have been premature, and mean to remain here till I have your answer."—*Washington to General Putnam*.

The movement into the Clove was made under the supposition, or *premature intelligence*, that General Howe was about pushing up the North River to co-operate with General Burgoyne.

## TUESDAY, JULY 22.

At Galloway's: "We have been under great embarrassments respecting the intended operations of General Howe, and still are, notwithstanding the utmost pains to obtain intelligence of the same. At present it would appear that he is going out to sea. By authentic information, there are only forty ships at New York; the rest are gone elsewhere, and have fallen down between the Narrows and the Hook. Between these two places, the number, from the most accurate observation, was about one hundred and twenty yesterday."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

## THURSDAY, JULY 24.

At Ramapo, New Jersey: "I have just received advice of the Enemy's fleet having sailed from the Hook; in consequence of which I have to desire, that you will immediately order General Sullivan's & Lord Stirling's Divisions to cross the river [the Hudson], and proceed towards Philadelphia."—*Washington to General Putnam*.



"Ramapo, or Ramopock, was a small settlement, about five miles south of the present Suffern's Station on the New York and Erie rail-way, and within the province of New Jersey. It was nearly seven miles below the present village of Ramapo, founded by Mr. Pierson."—*Lossing*, "Field-Book," i. 780.

## FRIDAY, JULY 25.

At Ramapo: "I have recd yours of Yesterday's date Enclosing the Intercepted Letter from Genl Howe to Burgoyne. To me a stronger proof could not be given, that the former is not going to the Eastward, than this Letter adduces. It was evidently intended to fall into our hands. . . . I am persuaded more than ever, that Philadelphia is the place of destination."—*Washington to General Putnam*.

The letter from General Howe to General Burgoyne, referred to above, informing the latter that an expedition to Boston would take the place of one up the North River, was written to deceive. It, however, only confirmed Washington in his purpose to put the army in motion towards Philadelphia.

## WEDNESDAY, JULY 30.

At Coryell's Ferry, New Jersey: "As we are uncertain as to the real destination of the enemy, tho the Delaware seems most probable, I have thought it prudent to halt the army at this place, Howell's Ferry, and Trenton, at least till the Fleet actually enters the Bay, and puts the matter beyond a doubt. Genl Howe's in a manner abandoning General Burgoyne is so unaccountable a matter, that, till I am fully assured it is so, I cannot help casting my Eyes continually behind me."—*Washington to General Gates*.

The route of the army from the Clove to Coryell's Ferry, on the Delaware, sixteen miles above Trenton, is given by Colonel Pickering in his Journal: "July 23d. Returned from the Clove to Ramapo. 25th. Marched to Pompton; 26th, to Morristown; 27th, to Reading, eighteen miles from Coryell's Ferry over the Delaware. 28th. Marched to the ferry, and quartered at a hearty old Quaker's named Oakham."

## THURSDAY, JULY 31.

At Coryell's Ferry: "At half after nine o'clock this

morning, I received an express from Congress, advising that the enemy's fleet, consisting of two hundred and twenty-eight sail were at the Capes of Delaware yesterday in the forenoon. . . . The troops are on their march from hence." — *Washington to Governor Trumbull.*

Washington left Ramapo on the 25th of July, and arrived at Coryell's Ferry, on the Delaware, now Lambertville, New Jersey, on the 28th. One brigade of the army crossed the river on the morning of the 29th; two divisions under General Stephen crossed at Howell's Ferry, now Stockton, three miles above, and Lord Stirling at Trenton. The troops which crossed at Coryell's and Howell's, comprising the bulk of the army, were put in march for Philadelphia, down the Old York Road, on the morning of the 31st, Washington going in advance, arriving in the city at about ten o'clock at night. On the following day, August 1, he examined the defences of the Delaware,\* and passed the night at Chester, fifteen miles below Philadelphia.

#### FRIDAY, AUGUST 1.

At Chester, Pennsylvania: "I have this moment [10 o'clock P.M.] received intelligence by express, that the enemy's fleet yesterday morning about eight o'clock sailed out of the Capes in an eastern course." — *Washington to General Putnam.*

#### SATURDAY, AUGUST 2.

At Philadelphia: In conference with a committee of Congress. Washington remained in Philadelphia until the afternoon of August 4.

It was during this visit to Philadelphia that Washington, at a public dinner given in his honor, met Lafayette for the first time. The marquis, who had just been commissioned a major-general, refers to this meeting in his Memoirs, which are written in the third person, in the following words: "The two Howes having appeared before the Capes of the Delaware, General Washington came to Philadelphia, and M. de Lafayette beheld for the first time that great man. Although he was surrounded by officers and citizens, it was impossible to mistake for a moment his majestic figure and

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\* "Aug. 1777.—Expended in a trip to examine Mud Isl<sup>d</sup> [Fort Mifflin] Red bank [Fort Mercer] and Billingsport. . 60½ Doll<sup>s</sup>.—To Ditto going to Marcus hook. . 86 Doll<sup>s</sup>." — *Washington's Accounts.*

deportment; nor was he less distinguished by the noble affability of his manner."

MONDAY, AUGUST 4.

At Philadelphia: "You will perceive by the enclosed copy of a letter from Congress, that they have destined you to the command of the army in the northern department, and have directed me to order you immediately to repair to that post. I have therefore to desire you will, in pursuance of their intention, proceed to the place of your destination, with all the expedition you can, and take upon you the command of the northern army accordingly."—*Washington to General Gates.*

TUESDAY, AUGUST 5.

At Schuylkill Falls: "Our affairs at the northward have taken a turn not more unfortunate than unexpected. . . This affair has cast a dark shade upon a very bright prospect, our accounts from that quarter being very gloomy; but some reinforcements having been sent up, and some good officers, it is to be hoped that the cloud will be dispelled."—*Washington to John Augustine Washington.*

On August 1st, the army arrived at its camping ground between Germantown and the Schuylkill River (Schuylkill Falls), five miles north of Philadelphia, where Washington rejoined it on the afternoon of the 4th, making his head-quarters at the country-seat of Henry Hill, on Indian Queen Lane, about one mile east of the Falls, and the same distance from Germantown. The house was taken down in 1780.\*

The army remained at the "camp by Schuylkill Falls," until the afternoon of August 8, when, under the supposition that the enemy had sailed for the eastward, it was started back to the Hudson.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 7.

At Schuylkill Falls: "We are yet entirely in the dark as to the destination of the Enemy. The Fleet has neither been seen nor heard of since they left the Capes of Dela-

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\* See the paper entitled "The Camp by Schuylkill Falls," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. xvi. p. 28.



ware, on this day week. . . I have ordered the heavy baggage of the army to be thrown over the Delaware again, and I hold the men in constant readiness to march the moment we receive any accounts of the Enemy."—*Washington to General Putnam*.

"The troops of the whole Line are to be in readiness to be review'd to-morrow Morning at 5 o'clock, when it is expected every Officer and Soldier not on duty and able will attend."—*Orderly Book*, August 7.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 8.

At Schuylkill Falls: "*August 8th.*—The army was reviewed, and in the afternoon marched about nine or ten miles back from Germantown."—*Pickering's Journal*.

The Marquis de Lafayette, an eye-witness to the review, has left us the following description in his Memoirs: "About eleven thousand men, ill armed, and still worse clothed, presented a strange spectacle to the eye of the young Frenchman: their clothes were parti-coloured, and many of them were almost naked; the best clad wore *hunting shirts*, large grey linen coats which were much used in Carolina. As to their military tactics, it will be sufficient to say that, for a regiment ranged in order of battle to move forward on the right of its line, it was necessary for the left to make a continued counter march. They were always arranged in two lines, the smallest men in the first line; no other distinction as to height was ever observed. In spite of these disadvantages, the soldiers were fine, and the officers zealous; virtue stood in place of science, and each day added both to experience and discipline."

SATURDAY, AUGUST 9.

At Schuylkill Falls: "We have no further account of the Enemy's Fleet and therefore concluding that they are gone to the Eastward we have again turned our faces that way and shall move slow till we get some account of it."—*Washington to John Augustine Washington*.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 10.

At the Neshaminy Camp: "I this minute [nine o'clock P.M.] received your favor of this afternoon, transmitting intelligence that a fleet was seen off Sinapuxent on the 7th instant. I was about three miles eastward of the Billet



tavern [now Hatborough], on the road leading to Coryell's Ferry, when the express arrived. The troops are encamped near the road, where they will remain till I have further accounts of the fleet."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Washington's head-quarters at the "Neshaminy Camp," Bucks County, Pennsylvania, twenty miles north of Philadelphia, were at a stone house, still standing, on the Old York Road near the bridge over the Little Neshaminy Creek, about half a mile above the village of Hartsville, formerly known as the Cross Roads. The army remained at the "Neshaminy Camp" until August 23.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13.

At the Neshaminy Camp: "We moved to this place on the 10th inst. Here we received the account from Synnepuxent, and remain at fault till some more particular accounts of the motions of the enemy enable me to judge of their designs."—*John Laurens to Henry Laurens.*

SATURDAY, AUGUST 16.

At the Neshaminy Camp: "I have your favor of the 14th instant. . . The people in the northern army seem so intimidated by the Indians, that I have determined to send up Colonel Morgan's corps of riflemen, who will fight them in their own way. They will march from Trenton to-morrow morning."—*Washington to General Putnam.*

"We have a report from Albany of a severe action near fort Stanwix [battle of Oriskany, August 6], between about Eight hundred Militia [under General Nicholas Herkimer] & a party of the Enemy—which lasted Six hours—the Enemy were drove off the ground & left One hundred & Seventy dead—we lost upwards of one hundred men in the action."—*Putnam to Washington, Peekskill, August 14. MS. Letter.*

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20.

At the Neshaminy Camp: "Since the Enemy's fleet was seen off Sinepuxent, the 8th Inst. we have no acct's from them, which can be depended on. I am now of opinion, that Charles Town is the present object of General Howe's

attention, though for what *sufficient* reason, unless he expected to drag this army after him by appearing at different places & thereby leave the Country open for Genl Clinton to March out and endeavor to form a Junction with Genl Burgoyne, I am at a loss to determine."—*Washington to General Gates*.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 21.

At the Neshaminy Camp: A council of war, in which it was decided that, as the enemy's fleet had most probably sailed for Charleston, it was not expedient for the army to march southward, and that it should move immediately towards the North River.

The Marquis de Lafayette took part, for the first time, in the council of war convened on this occasion, as major-general, having been commissioned July 31.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 22.

At the Neshaminy Camp: "I am honored with your favor containing the intelligence of the enemy's arrival in Chesapeake Bay. . . . I have directed General Sullivan to join the army with his division as speedily as possible, and I have issued orders for all the troops here to be in motion to-morrow morning very early, with the intention to march them towards Philadelphia and onwards."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

"The Commander-in-Chief has the happiness to inform the army of the signal victory obtained to the northward. A part of General Burgoyne's army, about 1500 in number, were detached towards New Hampshire, and advanced with a design to possess themselves of Bennington. Brigadier-general Starke, of the State of New Hampshire, with about 2000 men, mostly militia, attacked them [August 16]. Our troops behaved in a very brave and heroic manner. They pushed the enemy from one work to another, thrown up on advantageous ground, and from different posts, with spirit and fortitude, until they gained a complete victory over them."—*Orderly Book*, August 22.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 23.

At the Neshaminy Camp: "I beg leave to inform you,



that the army marched early this morning, and I expect, will encamp this Evening within Five or Six miles of Philadelphia. To-morrow morning it will move again, and I think to march It thro the City, but without halting. I am induced to do this, from the opinion of Several of my officers and many Friends in Philadelphia, that it may have some influence on the minds of the disaffected there, and those who are Dupes to their artifices and opinions."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

The army moved down the Old York Road, and encamped for the night near the present Nicetown, within five miles of Philadelphia. Washington made his head-quarters at Stenton, the homestead of the Logan family, and from which the same evening he issued the following general order: "The army is to move precisely at 4 o'clock in the morning, if it should not rain. . . . The army is to march in one column through the city of Philadelphia, going in at and marching down Front Street to Chestnut, and up Chestnut to the Common. A small halt is to be made about a mile this side of the city until the rear is clear up and the line in proper order."

#### SUNDAY, AUGUST 24.

At Philadelphia: "Last Sunday [August 24] part of the Continental army, amounting to about ten thousand men, with his excellency general Washington at their head, marched through the city, and immediately proceeded over the river Schuylkill [at the Middle Ferry, Market Street], on their way, it is said, to the eastern shore of Maryland. And on Monday morning gen. Nash's brigade of N. Carolina forces, and col. Proctor's regiment of artillery, passed through the city, who, we hear, are to pursue the same route, in order to join our most illustrious general."—*Pennsylvania Evening Post*, August 28, 1777.

"August 24th.—The army marched through the city [Philadelphia], and was allowed to make a fine appearance, the order of marching being extremely well preserved. We advanced to Derby.—25th. The army marched through Chester to Naaman's Creek, the General and family advancing to Wilmington, a pretty town and pleasantly situated."—*Pickering's Journal.*

#### MONDAY, AUGUST 25.

At Wilmington, Delaware: "Six o'clock P.M. I have just

reed information, that the Enemy began to land this morning about Six miles below the Head of Elk, opposite to Cecil Court-House."—*Washington to General Armstrong*.

"On reaching Wilmington [twenty-eight miles southwest from Philadelphia], Washington took up his head-quarters on Quaker Hill, in a house which for many years afterwards stood on the west side of West Street, midway between Third and Fourth; the army encamped on the high land west of the town, some going as far as Newport, three miles below."—*Scharf*, "History of Delaware," i. 248.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 26.

At Wilmington: "August 26th.—The General [Washington] went with all the horse, save Sheldon's to reconnoitre."—*Pickering's Journal*.

It was on this reconnoissance that Washington, in consequence of a terrible storm, passed the night at a farm-house near Gray's hill, two miles from the Head of Elk (now Elkton), at the imminent risk of being surprised by the enemy's scouts; his only companions being Generals Greene, Weedon, and Lafayette.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 27.

At Wilmington: "I this morning returned from the Head of Elk, which I left last night."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

On August 25 the British army under Sir William Howe, eighteen thousand strong, landed from the fleet at Turkey Point, at the head of Chesapeake Bay, and on the 27th marched to the Head of Elk, eighteen miles from Wilmington. From this point Howe issued his "Declaration," promising, among other things, pardon to those who had taken an active part in the rebellion, provided they should voluntarily return to their allegiance.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 29.

At Wilmington: "The enemy advanced a part of their Army yesterday to Gray's Hill, about two miles this side of Elk."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 30.

At Wilmington: "I was reconnoitring the country and



different Roads all yesterday, & am now setting out on the same business again."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1.

At Wilmington: "General Howe's *Declaration* is agreeable to his constant usage, and is what we might reasonably expect. The only difference is, the present exhibition is styled a 'Declaration.' It is another effort to seduce the people to give up their rights, and to encourage our soldiers to desert."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

This "Declaration" was issued on the 27th of August. General Howe declared that security and protection would be extended to all persons who should remain peaceably at their usual places of abode; and he promised pardon to those who had taken an active part in the rebellion, provided they should voluntarily return to their allegiance, and surrender themselves to any detachment of the king's forces within a specified time.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3.

At Wilmington: "Eight o'clock P.M.—This morning the Enemy came out, with a considerable force and three pieces of artillery, against our Light advanced corps, and, after some pretty smart skirmishing obliged them to retreat, being far inferior in number, and without cannon."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 5.

At Wilmington: Issues an order informing the army of the intention of the British to possess themselves of Philadelphia, and warning them of the importance of the impending battle.

"September 6th.—Marched to Newport, three or four miles beyond Wilmington."—*Pickering's Journal.*

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 7.

At Wilmington: "Since General Howe's debarkation in Elk River he has moved on about seven miles; his main

body now lies at Iron Hill, and ours near a village called Newport. In this position the armies are from eight to ten miles apart."—*Washington to General Heath*.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9.

Six miles from Wilmington: "The enemy advanced yesterday with a seeming intention of attacking us upon our post near Newport. We waited for them the whole day; but in the Evening they halted, at a place called Milltown, about two miles from us. . . . The army marched at two o'clock this morning, and will take post this evening upon the high grounds near Chad's Ford."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

"September 9th.—Left Newport in the morning before daylight, and marched to Chad's Ford; crossed it, and encamped on the east side of the Brandywine, having information that the enemy had marched far to the north of Newport."—*Pickering's Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10.

At Chadd's Ford, Pennsylvania: Head-quarters at the house of Benjamin Ring, one mile east of the ford.

Chadd's Ford, Brandywine Creek, on the heights east of which the main strength of the army was posted, commanding the passage of the creek, is about thirteen miles north of Wilmington. The battle of the 11th, however, was decided three miles to the northward, near Birmingham Meeting-House, a large body of British troops under Cornwallis having crossed the creek at the upper fords.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 11.

At the Battle of Brandywine: "Chester, twelve o'clock at Night, 11 September, 1777.—I am sorry to inform you, that, in this day's engagement, we have been obliged to leave the enemy masters of the field. . . . I have directed all the troops to assemble behind Chester, where they are now arranging for this night. Notwithstanding the misfortunes of the day, I am happy to find the troops in good spirits; and I hope another time we shall compensate for the losses now sustained."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.



"The American army assembled to the East of Chester along the Queen's Highway, and Washington, after despatching the letter [to Congress] went to the present Leiperville, where, still standing on the north of the road, is the old stone house, then the home of John McIlvain, in which the chief of the retreating army passed the night after the ill-starred battle of Brandywine."—*Ashmead's History of Delaware County*, p. 65.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

On the march to Philadelphia: "*September 12th.*—This day the army marched to the Schuylkill, part crossing and marching to our old camp by Schuylkill Falls. The enemy lay still near the field of battle."—*Pickering's Journal*.

"*September 13th.*—The rest of the army crossed, and the whole collected at the old encampment, vast numbers of stragglers coming in."—*Pickering's Journal*.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13.

At Schuylkill Falls: *Orderly Book.*—"The General, with peculiar satisfaction, thanks the gallant officers and soldiers who on the 11th inst. bravely fought in their country's cause. Although the events of that day, from some unfortunate circumstances, were not so favorable as could be wished, the General has the satisfaction of assuring the troops that from every account he has been able to obtain, the enemy's loss vastly exceeded ours."

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 14.

Leaves Schuylkill Falls: "*September 14th.*—The army having yesterday cleaned their arms, and received ammunition to complete forty rounds a man, this day marched up a few miles and recrossed the Schuylkill at Levering's Ford, the water being nearly up to the waist. We advanced about five or six miles that night."—*Pickering's Journal*.

Levering's Ford, on the Schuylkill, was at Green Lane, two miles above the Falls, but the crossing was really made at Matson's Ford, now Conshohocken, six miles farther up the stream.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 15.

At the Buck Tavern: "Three o'clock, P.M.—We are

moving up this Road [the old Lancaster road] to get between the Enemy and Swede's Ford, and to prevent them from turning our right flank."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

The Buck Tavern, about nine miles northwest of Philadelphia, on the old Lancaster road, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, a well-known hostelry of its day, is still standing, but occupied as a private house. The army advanced the same day thirteen miles farther up the road to a point near the junction of the Swede's Ford road, northwest of the Warren Tavern, in Chester County, and encamped between that point and the White Horse Tavern, Washington making his head-quarters at the residence of Joseph Malin, about half a mile west of the Warren Tavern. The house is still standing.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16.

Near the White Horse Tavern: "About nine in the morning we were informed that the enemy were advancing towards us. The troops got under arms, and the baggage was sent off. An advance party of the enemy attacked our picket, just posted (about three hundred strong), who shamefully fled at the first fire. About this time it began to rain. General Scott, with his brigade, was ordered to advance to attack this party of the enemy, or skirmish with another expected in our front. The rain increased."—*Pickering's Journal.*

The rain finally turned into such a violent storm that the arms became absolutely unfit for use, and orders were given to march to the Yellow Springs, a distance of five miles to the northward, where the troops arrived about ten o'clock at night. Washington himself is said to have passed the night at the Red Lion Tavern (now Lionville), about three miles from the Springs.

WEDNESDAY, SETEMBER 17.

At the Yellow Springs, Pennsylvania: "Yesterday the enemy moved from Concord, by the Edgemont road toward the Lancaster road, with evident design to gain our right flank. This obliged us to alter our position and march to this place, from whence we intend immediately to proceed



to Warwick. We suffered much from the severe weather yesterday and last night, being unavoidably separated from our tents and baggage."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Part of the army marched to Warwick Furnace, on French Creek, eight miles north of the Yellow Springs, and about nine miles from the Schuylkill River, on the 17th, where they were joined by the rest on the following day. Warwick Furnace was a depot for the manufacture and repair of guns, and casting of cannon, sixty of which, for the use of the Continental army, of twelve- and eighteen-pound calibre, were cast in 1776.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18.

At Warwick Furnace: "The Army here is so much fatigued that it is impossible I should move them this afternoon."—*Washington to General Wayne*, MS. Letter.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19.

At Parker's Ford: "I am now repassing the Schuylkill at Parker's Ford [Lawrenceville], with the main body of the army, which will be over in an hour or two, though it is deep and rapid. . . . As soon as the troops have crossed the river, I shall march them as expeditiously as possible towards Fatland, Swede's, and the other fords, where it is most probable the enemy will attempt to pass."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

The army marched southward from Parker's Ford, on the east side of the river, by way of the Trappe (a village on the Reading road, twenty-five miles from Philadelphia), as far as Perkiomen Creek, where it encamped. "His Excellency General Washington was with the troops in person, who marched past here [the Trappe] to the Perkiomen. The procession lasted the whole night, and we had numerous visits from officers, wet breast high, who had to march in this condition during the whole night, cold and damp as it was, and to bear hunger and thirst at the same time."—*Muhlenberg's Journal*, September 19, 1777.

On the 21st, the enemy having moved rapidly up the road on the west side of the Schuylkill towards Reading, a depot of supplies, Washington marched the troops to within four miles of Pottsgrove (now Pottstown), eight miles above the Trappe. Here he remained until the 26th, when he moved to Pennybacker's Mills, on the Perkiomen, nine miles to the eastward.

## MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 22.

At Pottsgrove: "The distressed situation of the army for want of blankets, and many necessary articles of cloathing, is truly deplorable; and must inevitably be destructive to it, unless a speedy remedy be applied."—*Washington to Alexander Hamilton*.

While the army lay near Pottsgrove (now Pottstown), Washington is said to have made his head-quarters at the "Potts Mansion," erected in 1753 by John Potts, the founder of the town. The house, a notable building of the day, is now occupied as a hotel.

## TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.

At Pottsgrove: "The Enemy by a variety of perplexing manœuvres through a Country from which I could not derive the least intelligence (being to a man disaffected), contrived to pass the Schuylkill last night at the Fatland [half a mile below Valley Forge], and other fords in the neighborhood of it. They marched immediately towards Philadelphia, and I imagine their advanced parties will be near the City to-night. . . Messieurs Carroll, Chase, and Penn, who were some days with the army, can inform Congress in how deplorable a situation the Troops are, for want of that necessary article [shoes]. At least one thousand men are bare-footed, and have performed the marches in that condition."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

"September 26th, 1777.—At half past eight this morning Lord Cornwallis with the two Battalions of British Grenadiers and Hessian Grenadiers, two squadrons of Sixteenth dragoons and artillery with the Chief-Engineer, Commanding officer of Artillery, Quartermaster and Adjutant-General marched and took possession of the city of Philadelphia at 10 the same morning amidst the acclamation of some thousands of the inhabitants mostly women and children."—*Journal of Captain John Montresor, Chief-Engineer of the British Army*, "Pennsylvania Magazine", vi. 41.

## THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 25.

At Pottsgrove: "To-day it rains. To-morrow morning, at nine o'clock we march and join McDougall. Pretty soon, I imagine, we shall proceed to attack the enemy, if



their post is practicable."—*Colonel Pickering to John Pickering.*

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 26.

At Pottsgrove: "We shall move towards Philadelphia to-day, as the weather is fair and our reinforcements are at some distance below, ready to fall in with us."—*John Laurens to Henry Laurens.*

"We are now in motion, and advancing to form a junction with Genl. McDougall. I expect to be joined in a day or two by Genl. Foreman, with fourteen or fifteen hundred Jersey militia."—*Washington to Elbridge Gerry,* September 26.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 27.

At Pennybacker's Mills: "You are hereby authorized to impress all the Blankets, Shoes, Stockings and other Articles of Clothing that can be spared by the Inhabitants of the County of Lancaster for the Use of the Continental Army, paying for the same at reasonable Rates or giving Certificates."—*Washington to William Henry, Lancaster, MS. Letter.*

Washington reached Pennybacker's (formerly Pauling's) Mills, now Schwenksville, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, on September 26, making his head-quarters at the house of Samuel Pennybacker, the owner of the mills. The house, a two-story stone building, is still standing.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 28.

At Pennybacker's Mills: *Orderly Book.*—"The Commander-in-Chief has the happiness again to congratulate the army on the success of the Americans to the Northward. On the 19th inst. an engagement took place [at Stillwater, New York] between General Burgoyne's army and the left wing of ours, under General Gates. The battle began at 10 o'clock, and lasted till night—our troops fighting with the greatest bravery, not giving an inch of ground. . . To celebrate this success the General orders that at 4 o'clock this afternoon all the troops be paraded and served with a

gill of rum per man, and that at the same time there be discharges of 13 pieces of artillery from the park."

At a council of war held this day, the Continental force was thus outlined by Washington: McDougall, with about nine hundred men, had joined the army; Smallwood had also come in with about eleven hundred of the Maryland militia; Forman, with about six hundred of the Jersey militia, was on the Skippack road, and near the main body. The number of Continental troops in camp, fit for duty, exclusive of the detachment under McDougall, and that under Wayne at the Trappe, was five thousand four hundred and seventy-two, to which was to be added Maxwell's light corps (about four hundred and fifty), and the Pennsylvania militia under Armstrong. Upon the whole the army would consist of about eight thousand Continental troops rank and file, and three thousand militia. The Council decided against an immediate attack on the enemy, and that the army should move to a proper camp about twelve miles from them to await reinforcements and a more fitting opportunity to attack.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 29.

At Pennybacker's Mills: "I shall move the Army four or five miles lower down to day, from whence we may reconnoitre and fix upon a proper situation, at such distance from the Enemy, as will entitle us to make an attack, should we see a proper opening, or stand upon the defensive till we obtain further reinforcements. This was the opinion of a majority of a Council of General officers which I called yesterday."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"September 29th.—We marched from Pennybacker's Mills down to Skippack, within about twenty-five miles from Philadelphia."—*Pickering's Journal.*

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 1.

At Skippack: "I hope that a little time and perseverance will give us some favorable opportunity of recovering our loss, and of putting our affairs in a more flourishing condition. Our army has now had the rest and refreshment it stood in need of, and our soldiers are in very good spirits."—*Washington to Governor Trumbull.*

"October 2d.—The [army] marched about five miles farther down on the Skippack road to Worcester Township."—*Pickering's Journal.*

It was from this point, "Methacton Hill," that the army started, at



seven o'clock on the evening of October 3, to attack the enemy at Germantown.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 3.

At Worcester: "Since my letter of the 29th. no favorable change has taken place in our affairs; on the contrary, we have sustained an additional loss in the capture of the Delaware."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

The frigate Delaware, of Commodore Hazlewood's fleet on the river Delaware, in conjunction with the frigate Montgomery, each of twenty-four guns, the sloop Fly, and several galleys and gondolas, began a cannonade on the morning of September 27th, against the batteries in course of erection by the British in front of Philadelphia. On the falling of the tide the Delaware grounded. In this disabled condition the guns from the batteries soon compelled her colors to be struck, and she was taken by the enemy.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 4.

At the Battle of Germantown: "In the midst of the most promising appearances, when every thing gave the most flattering hopes of victory, the troops began suddenly to retreat, and entirely left the field, in spite of every effort that could be made to rally them."—*Washington to the President of Congress, October 5.*

"After the army were all retreating, I expected they would have returned to their last encampment, about twelve or thirteen miles from the enemy at Germantown; but the retreat was continued upwards of twenty miles; so that all those men, who retired so far, this day marched upwards of thirty miles without rest, besides being up all the preceding night without sleep."—*Pickering's Journal.*

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 5.

At Pennybacker's Mills: "October 5th.—This day and the following the stragglers had generally joined the army over Perkiomen Creek. After remaining here a few days, the army removed to Towamensing Township."—*Pickering's Journal.*

"The Commander-in-Chief returns his thanks to the generals and other officers and men concerned in the attack on the enemy's left wing, for their spirit and bravery, shown in driving the enemy from field to field, and although an unfortunate fog, joined with the smoke, prevented the different brigades from seeing and supporting each other, or sometimes even from distinguishing their fire from the enemy's, and some other causes, which as yet cannot be accounted for, they finally retreated, they nevertheless see that the enemy is not proof against a vigorous attack, and may be put to flight when boldly pursued."—*Orderly Book*, October 5.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 6.

At Pennybacker's Mills: "*Camp near Perkioming Creek*, 6th October 1777.—Since the action we have received a considerable reinforcement from Virginia, and our excellent General Washington has collected his force at the place from whence I date this letter, and intends soon to try another bout with them. All our men are in good spirits and I think grow fonder of fighting the more they have of it."—*Letter in the Continental Journal*, October 30.

"Our men are in the highest spirits, and ardently desire another trial. I know of no ill consequences that can follow the late action; on the contrary, we have gained considerable experience, and our army have a certain proof that the British troops are vulnerable."—*General Knox to Artemas Ward*, October 7.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 7.

At Pennybacker's Mills: "My intention is to encamp the army at some suitable place to rest and refresh the men, and recover them from the still remaining effects of that disorder naturally attendant on a retreat."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

On this day Washington received a committee of six prominent Friends, appointed by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to visit "William Howe, General of the British Army, and George Washington, General of the American Army," for the purpose of presenting them the Society's "testimony" against war, and of explaining the position the Friends occupied as non-resistants, conscientiously restrained from bearing arms on either side. Committee: Samuel Emlen, William Brown, Joshua Morris, James Thornton, Warner Mifflin, and Nicholas Waln. The committee were kindly entertained by the Commander-in-Chief, after which he sent them to Potts-

grove, to remain a few days, in order that, should they be exposed to British questioning, on their return to Philadelphia, they could make the reply that it had been some time since they left head-quarters.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 8.

At Pennybacker's Mills: "The army here marches this morning, from hence to the Baptist Meeting House in Montgomery [Towamencin] Township."—*Washington to General Varnum.*

The Baptist or Mennonite Meeting-House referred to in the letter to General Varnum is on the Sumneytown road, in Towamencin Township, near Kulpsville, three miles northeast of the Skippack road, and twenty-six from Philadelphia. The burial-ground attached thereto contains the remains of General Nash, of North Carolina, and other officers, wounded at the battle of Germantown, and who died in this vicinity.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 9.

At Towamencin: *Orderly Book*.—"Brigadier-general Nash will be interred at 10 o'clock this forenoon, with military honors, at the place where the road where the troops marched on yesterday comes into the great road. All officers, whose circumstances will admit of it, will attend and pay this respect to a brave man who died in defence of his country."

Washington's head-quarters at Towamencin were at the farm-house of Frederick Wampole, about a mile above Kulpsville, and half a mile north of the Mennonite Meeting-House. The house was taken down in 1881.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11.

At Towamencin: *Orderly Book*.—"The Commr in Chief has the pleasure to inform the army that Congress has in an unanimous Resolve express'd their thanks to the Officers and Men, concern'd in the attack on the Enemy near Germantown on the 4th Inst. for their brave exertions on that Occasion, and hopes the approbation of that Honble Body will stimulate them to still nobler Efforts on every future Occasion."



## MONDAY, OCTOBER 13.

At Towamencin: "With regard to the army 'tis in good spirits, and reënforced, since the last action, by the arrival of some troops from Peekskill [under General Varnum], and five regiments of militia from Virginia, and one regiment from Virginia well disciplined, being the State regiment. But Pennsylvania, from which we ought to have the largest reënforcements of militia, has now but about twelve hundred men in the field; whereas they should have as many thousand, if needed."—*Colonel Pickering to Mrs. Pickering.*

## WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 15.

At Towamencin: *Orderly Book.*—"The General has the repeated pleasure of informing the army of the success of the troops under the command of General Gates over General Burgoyne's army on the 7th inst. [the second battle of Stillwater]. The action commenced at three o'clock in the afternoon, between the pickets of the two armies, which were reinforced on both sides. The contest was warm, and continued till night with obstinacy, when our troops gained the advanced lines of the enemy, and encamped on that ground all night."

## THURSDAY, OCTOBER 16.

At Worcester: "We moved this morning from the encampment at which we had been for six or seven days past, and are just arrived at the grounds we occupied before the action of the 4th. One motive for coming here is to divert the enemy's attention and force from the forts [on the Delaware]."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

At Worcester, head-quarters were at the house of Peter Wentz, still standing on the road from Centre Point to Heebnersville, three-fourths of a mile from the former place and one mile and a quarter from the latter. The house, a substantial two-story stone building, was erected in 1758. Since 1794, the property has been in possession of the Schultz family.



## SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18.

At Worcester: *Orderly Book*.—"The General has his happiness completed relative to the successes of the Northern army. On the 14th instant General Burgoyne and his whole army surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Let every face brighten, and every heart expand with grateful joy and praise to the Supreme Disposer of all events, who has granted us this signal success. The chaplains of the army are to prepare short discourses, suited to the occasion, to deliver to their several corps and brigades at five o'clock this afternoon."

This order was based on a despatch received from Governor Clinton, dated Albany, October 15, 1777: "Last night at 8 o'clock the capitulation whereby General Burgoyne & whole Army surrendered themselves Prisoners of War, was signed and this Morning they have to march out towds. the River, above Fish Creek with the Honours of War (and there ground their Arms) they are from thence to be marched to Massachusetts bay." *Negotiations* for the surrender were commenced on the 14th, but the articles of the "Convention between Lieutenant-general Burgoyne and Major-general Gates" were not signed by Burgoyne until the morning of the 17th of October.

## SUNDAY, OCTOBER 19.

At Worcester: "The defeat of General Burgoyne is a most important event, and such as must afford the highest satisfaction to every well-affected American. Should Providence be pleased to crown our arms in the course of the campaign with one more fortunate stroke, I think we shall have no great cause for anxiety respecting the future designs of Britain."—*Washington to General Putnam*.

"Last Sunday [October 19] the enemy entirely evacuated Germantown, and retired near Philadelphia, encamping round about the city, within a circuit of a mile or a mile and a half from it; and, to secure this camp, they have thrown up a number of breastworks or redoubts. This will render an attack upon them difficult."—*Colonel Pickering to Mrs. Pickering*, October 20.

## TUESDAY, OCTOBER 21.

At Whitpain: "October 21st.—The army moved lower

down to Whitpain Township, within fifteen miles of Philadelphia. Head-quarters at Mr. Morris's."—*Pickering's Journal*.

Washington's head-quarters at Whitpain were at the house of James Morris, between the Skippack and Morris roads, and about one mile west of the present village of Ambler. The original building, a solid stone structure, erected in 1736 by Abraham Dawes, father of Mrs. Morris, was enlarged in 1785, and in 1821 the present south wing was added, when the front, which had been south, was changed to the west. The property, containing over two hundred acres (originally three hundred and fifty), now called "Dawesfield," is still in the family, the present owner, Mrs. Saunders Lewis, of Philadelphia, being a great-granddaughter of Abraham Dawes.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 24.

At Whitpain: "Whereas sundry Soldiers belonging to the armies of the United States have deserted from the same; These are to make known to all those who have so offended, and who shall return to their respective corps, or surrender themselves to the Officers appointed to receive recruits and deserters in their several States, or to any Continental Commissioned Officer, before the first day of January next, that they shall obtain a full and free pardon."—*Proclamation*.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25.

At Whitpain: *Orderly Book*.—"The Gen<sup>l</sup> again Congratulates our Troops on the success of our arms. On Wednesday last [October 22] a Body of about 1200 Hessians under the Command of Count Donop made an attack on Fort Mercer at Red Bank, and after an action of 40 Minutes were repulsed with great loss. Count Donop himself is wounded and taken prisoner together with his Brigade Major and about 100 other officers and soldiers, and about 100 were left dead on the Fields, and as they carried off many of their wounded their whole loss is probably at least 400—our loss was trifling, the killed and wounded amounting only to about 32."



On the 23d of October, the day after the gallant defence of Fort Mercer, the British frigate *Augusta*, of sixty-four guns, the *Roebuck*, of forty-four guns, and the *Merlin*, of eighteen guns, came up as near as they could to the upper *chevaux-de-frise* on the Delaware, at Fort Mifflin, when a furious engagement ensued between them and the galleys and floating batteries of the Pennsylvania fleet. About twelve o'clock the *Augusta* blew up, and at three o'clock the *Merlin* took fire and also blew up. The *Roebuck* dropped down the river and passed below the *chevaux-de-frise* at Billingsport.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 27.

At Whitpain: "The Northern army, before the surrender of General Burgoyne, was reenforced by upwards of 1200 Militia who shut the only door by which Burgoyne could Retreat, and cut off all his supplies. How different our case! the disaffection of a greater part of the Inhabitants of this State—the languor of others, & internal distraction of the whole, have been among the great and insuperable difficulties I have met with, and have contributed not a little to my embarassments this Campaign."—*Washington to Landon Carter*.

"It is a matter of astonishment to every part of the continent, to hear that Pennsylvania, the most opulent and populous of all the States, has but twelve hundred militia in the field, at a time when the enemy are endeavouring to make themselves completely masters of, and to fix their winter quarters in, her capital."—*Washington to Thomas Wharton*, October 17.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 29.

At Whitpain: A council of war, at which it was decided not to be advisable to make an attack upon Philadelphia; that the army should take a position to the left of its present station, and that twenty regiments should be drawn from the northern army.

To the council General Washington made the following report as to the strength of the two armies. That the troops under Sir William Howe present and fit for duty amounted, according to the best intelligence he could obtain, to ten thousand rank and file, stationed at Philadelphia and its immediate vicinity; and that the force under his command, present and fit for duty, was eight thousand three hundred and thirteen Continental troops, and two thousand seven hundred and seventeen militia. There were, in

addition, seven hundred and fifty Continental troops at Red Bank and Fort Mifflin, and a detachment of three hundred militia on their way to reinforce those posts. A body of five hundred militia under General Potter was likewise on the other side of the Schuylkill.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 30.

At Whitpain: A general court-martial, of which General Sullivan was President, was held at the Whitpain headquarters, the 25th, 26th, 27th, and 30th of October, for the trial of Brigadier-General Wayne, on the following charge:

"That he had timely notice of the enemy's intention, to attack the troops under his command, on the night of the 20th of Sept. last [at Paoli], and notwithstanding that intelligence, neglected making a disposition, until it was too late either to annoy the enemy, or make retreat, without the utmost danger and confusion.

"The Court, having fully considered the charge against Brigadier Genl Wayne, and the evidence produced to them, are unanimously of opinion that Genl Wayne is not guilty of the charge exhibited against him, but that he, on the night of the 20th Ultimo, (that is of Sept<sup>r</sup> last) did everything that could be expected from an active, brave, and vigilant officer, under the orders he then had. The Court do acquit him with the highest honor."

"The Commander in chief approves the Sentence."—*Orderly Book*, November 1.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1.

At Whitpain: "At the request of Governor Clinton, I have transmitted a copy of his letter to me, giving an account of General Vaughan's expedition up the North River after the capture of Fort Montgomery, and of the destruction committed by his troops in burning Kingston and the houses and mills on the river."—*Washington to the President*  
*Congress.*

Montgomery, one of the early fortifications of the Hudson High-  
lished in the spring of 1776, was about six miles above Stony



Point. It stood on a promontory on the upper side of a creek (Poplopen Kill), to the south of which was Fort Clinton. Both of these forts, taken by Sir Henry Clinton, October 6, were abandoned by order of General Howe on the 26th.

After removing the *chevaux-de-frise* at Fort Montgomery, the British passed up the river with several armed vessels commanded by Sir James Wallace, and a body of troops under General Vaughan. They burnt such shipping as they found in the river, and also houses and mills on the shore, and on the 15th of October, led on by General Vaughan himself, set fire to the village of Kingston. So complete was the destruction, that not more than one house escaped the flames.

#### SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 2.

At Whitemarsh: "*November 2d.*—The army marched to Whitemarsh, about thirteen miles from Philadelphia."—*Pickering's Journal*.

Washington's head-quarters at Whitemarsh were at a large stone house, still standing, about one-half a mile east from Camp Hill Station on the North Pennsylvania Railroad, and twelve miles north of Philadelphia. The house, which faces south, is two and a half stories in height, eighty feet front and twenty-seven feet in depth; it was modernized in 1854, and a large wing, originally the dining hall, removed from the west end. Enough remains, however, of the old building, and is known about it, to determine the accuracy of the statement made by Lossing in 1848 (*Field-Book*, ii. 114), that, "at the time of the Revolution, it was a sort of baronial hall in size and character when Elmar [Emlen], its wealthy owner, dispensed hospitality to all who came under its roof." The house with ninety-two acres is now (since 1857) owned and occupied by Charles T. Aiman. Camp Hill, on which part of the left wing of the army was posted, is directly in the rear of the house.

#### TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4.

At Whitemarsh: "*Head-quarters at George Emlen's, near Whitemarsh Church.*—We expect very soon a large reinforcement from the northern army; in the mean time the General has moved to this camp, which though naturally pretty strong, he is strengthening."—*Joseph Reed to Thomas Wharton*, November 4.

#### WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 5.

At Whitemarsh: "This morning a heavy cannonading

was heard from below [on the Delaware] and continued till afternoon; from the top of Chew's house in German Town to which place the General [Washington] took a ride this morning, we could discover nothing more than thick clouds of smok, and the masts of two vessels, the weather being very hazy."—*John Laurens to Henry Laurens.*

"November 7.—The cannonading heard day before yesterday was between the Somerset 64 Gun Ship, the Roebuck and some other vessel on the one part, and our row-gallies seconded by a two gun battery on the other."—*John Laurens to Henry Laurens.*

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7.

At Whitemarsh: *Orderly Book*.—"Since the General left Germantown [Schuylkill Falls] in the middle of September last, he has been without his baggage, and on that account is unable to receive company in the manner he could wish. He nevertheless desires the Generals, Field Officers and Brigade-Major of the day, to dine with him in the future, at three o'clock in the afternoon."

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 9.

At Whitemarsh: "A letter, which I received last night [from Lord Stirling], contained the following paragraph. 'In a letter from General Conway to General Gates he says, "*Heaven has been determined to save your country or a weak General and bad counsellors would have ruined it.*"'—*Washington to General Conway.*

This brief note is the earliest public record bearing on the subject of the conspiracy to displace Washington from the command of the army, known as the *Conway Cabal*. The particulars respecting this cabal will be found fully set forth by Sparks, v. 488.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13.

At Whitemarsh: "The army which I have had under my immediate command, has not, at any one time since General Howe's landing at the Head of Elk, been equal in point of numbers to his. . . How different the case in the northern

department! There the States of New York and New England, resolving to crush Burgoyne, continued pouring in their troops, till the surrender of that army; at which time not less than fourteen thousand militia, as I have been informed, were actually in General Gates' camp, and those composed, for the most part, of the best yeomanry in the country, well armed, and in many instances supplied with provisions of their own carrying."—*Washington to Patrick Henry.*

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 17.

At Whitemarsh: "I am sorry to inform you that Fort Mifflin [on the Delaware] was evacuated the night before last, after a defence which does credit to the American arms, and will ever reflect the highest honor upon the officers and men of the garrison."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

As the Pennsylvania fleet under Commodore Hazlewood could be of no further use after the evacuation of Fort Mifflin, it was decided to send the vessels up the Delaware to Burlington, New Jersey. The attempt was made on the night of November 19, and thirteen galleys and twelve armed boats succeeded in getting past the batteries at the city. The following night, one sloop, some ammunition-craft, and others with cannon, made their way up. Ten other vessels, unable to escape, were set on fire at Gloucester Point, and abandoned.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22.

At Whitemarsh: *Orderly Book.*—"The Commander-in-Chief offers a reward of ten dollars to any person, who shall by nine o'clock on Monday morning produce the best substitute for shoes, made of raw hides."

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 23.

At Whitemarsh: "I am sorry to inform Congress, that the enemy are now in possession of all the water defences [on the Delaware]. . . . The garrison [of Fort Mercer, at Red Bank] was obliged to evacuate it on the night of the 20th instant, on the approach of Lord Cornwallis, who had



crossed the river from Chester with a detachment, supposed to be about two thousand men, and formed a junction with the troops lately arrived from New York, and those that had been landed before at Billingsport."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

The loss of Forts Mifflin and Mercer ended the defence of the Delaware. The obstructions in the river were removed, and the enemy had full possession of Philadelphia.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 24.

At Whitemarsh: A council of war held to consider the expediency of an attack on the enemy's lines at Philadelphia.

The Council adjourned without coming to a decision, and the Commander-in-Chief, despatching a special messenger to General Greene, then at Mount Holly, New Jersey, required of the other officers their written opinions. On comparing them, eleven were found against making the attack, and four only, Stirling, Wayne, Scott, and Woodford, in its favor.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 25.

At Whitemarsh: "Col<sup>o</sup> Meade delivered me Yours this Morning as I was on my way to reconnoitre the Enemy's Lines from the West side of Schuylkill. I had a full view of their left and found their works much stronger than I had reason to expect from the Accounts I had received."—*Washington to General Greene.*

"Our Commander-in-chief wishing ardently to gratify the public expectation by making an attack upon the enemy—yet preferring at the same time a loss of popularity to engaging in an enterprise which he could not justify to his own conscience and the more respectable part of his constituents, went yesterday [November 25] to view the works. A clear sunshine favoured our observations: we saw redoubts of a very respectable profit, faced with plank, formidably fraised, and the intervals between them closed with an abattis unusually strong. General du Portail declared that in such works with five thousand men he would bid defiance to any force that should be brought against him."—*John Laurens to Henry Laurens, November 26.*

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 30.

At Whitemarsh: A council of war held to consider a proper place for winter-quarters. No decision being arrived at by the board, Washington finally determined to establish



a fortified encampment at Valley Forge, on the west side of the Schuylkill River.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2.

At Whitemarsh: "General Howe has withdrawn himself close within his lines, which extend from the Upper Ferry upon the Schuylkill [Callowhill Street] to Kensington upon the Delaware; they consist of a chain of strong redoubts connected by *abatis*. We have reconnoitred them well, but find it impossible to attack them while defended by a force fully equal to our own in Continental troops."—*Washington to General Gates*.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10.

At Whitemarsh: "In the course of last week, from a variety of intelligence, I had reason to expect that General Howe was preparing to give us a general action. Accordingly, on Thursday night [December 4] he moved from the city with all his force, except a very inconsiderable part left in his lines and redoubts, and appeared the next morning on Chestnut Hill, in front of, and about three miles distant from, our right wing. As soon as their position was discovered, the Pennsylvania militia were ordered from our right, to skirmish with their light advanced parties; and I am sorry to mention, that Brigadier-General Irvine, who led them on, had the misfortune to be wounded and to be made prisoner. Nothing more occurred on that day. On Friday night [December 5] the enemy changed their ground, and moved to our left, within a mile of our line, where they remained quiet and advantageously posted the whole of next day. On Sunday [December 7] they inclined still further to our left; and, from every appearance, there was reason to apprehend they were determined on an action."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

In the movement of Sunday, the 7th, the enemy's advanced and flanking parties were warmly attacked by Colonel Morgan and his corps, and also by

the Maryland militia under Colonel Gist, but about sunset, after various marches and countermarches, they halted for the night. Howe was afraid to assail Washington, and on the afternoon of Monday, the 8th, he changed front, and by two or three routes marched his army back to Philadelphia.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11.

Leaves Whitemarsh: "*December 11th.*—At four o'clock the Whole Army were Order'd to March to Sweeds Ford [Norristown], on the River Schuylkill, about 9 miles N.W. of Chestnut Hill, and 6 from White Marsh our present Encampment. At sun an hour high the whole were mov'd from the Lines and on their march with baggage. This Night encamped in a Semi Circle nigh the Ford."—*Diary of Albigeance Waldo*, "Historical Magazine," v. 129.

"*December 12th.*—A Bridge of Waggon made across the Schuylkill last night consisting of 36 waggon, with a bridge of Rails between each. Sun Set.—We are order'd to march over the River. The army were 'till Sun Rise crossing the River—some at the Waggon Bridge, & some at the Raft Bridge below. Cold & Uncomfortable."—*Diary of Albigeance Waldo*.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 12.

At Swede's Ford: *Orderly Book.*—"The Commander-in-Chief, with great pleasure, expresses his approbation of the behavior of the Pennsylvania Militia yesterday, under General Potter, on the vigorous opposition they made to a body of the enemy on the other side of the Schuylkill."

"On Thursday morning we marched from our old encampment, and intended to pass the Schuylkill at Madison's [Matson's] Ford, where a bridge had been laid across the river. When the first division and a part of the second had passed, they found a body of the enemy, consisting from the best accounts we have been able to obtain, of four thousand men, under Lord Cornwallis, possessing themselves of the heights on both sides of the road leading from the river and the defile called the Gulf. This unexpected event obliged such of our troops, as had crossed, to repass, and prevented our getting over till the succeeding night. . . They were met in their advance by General Potter, with part of the Pennsylvania militia, who behaved with bravery and gave them every possible opposition, till he was obliged to retreat from their superior numbers."—*Washington to the President of Congress*, December 14.

In consequence of this movement of the British, who were on a foraging



expedition, the troops were ordered to march to Swede's Ford, three miles higher up the river, where they crossed on the night of the 12th. Lord Cornwallis, having collected a good deal of forage, returned to Philadelphia on the night of the 11th.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13.

At the Gulf Mill: "*December 13th.*—The Army march'd three miles from the West side of the River [Swedes Ford], and encamp'd near a place called the Gulph and not an improper name either. For this Gulph seems well adapted by its situation to keep us from the pleasure & enjoyments of this world, or being conversant with any body in it."—*Diary of Albigeance Waldo.*

The Gulf Mill, a substantial stone building, erected in 1747, and still standing, is situated at the intersection of the Gulf road with Gulf Creek, which empties into the Schuylkill at West Conshohocken, the Matson's Ford of the Revolution. What is understood as the Gulf is where the creek passes through the Gulf Hill, and to effect a passage has cleft it to the base. The mill, near which Washington had his head-quarters until December 19,\* is about a mile and a half west of the river, and between six and seven miles from Valley Forge.

The movements of the army after the battle of Germantown had been entirely in what was then Philadelphia County, now (since 1784) Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, the townships or districts mentioned in the "Itinerary" being the same as at present, although not so clearly defined as to boundaries.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 15.

At the Gulf Mill: "The army cross'd the Schuylkill on the 13th and has remained encamped on the heights on this side. Our truly republican general has declared to his officers that he will set the example of passing the winter in a hut himself. The precise position is not as yet fixed upon,

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\* Tradition points to a house which stood about one mile north of the Gulf Mill, and half a mile east of the road, as having been Washington's head-quarters. It was known as "Walnut Grove," the residence of Lieutenant-Colonel Isaac Hughes, Pennsylvania Militia, built prior to 1743 by his father, John Hughes, stamp officer. The house, which was a notable building of the day, was taken down about twenty-five years ago.

in which our huts are to be constructed; it will probably be determined this day."—*John Laurens to Henry Laurens.*

"December 16th.—Cold Rainy Day—Baggage ordered over the Gulph, of our Division, which were to march at Ten—but the baggage was order'd back and for the first time since we have been here the Tents were pitch'd to keep the men more comfortable."—*Diary of Albigeance Waldo.*

#### WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 17.

At the Gulf Mill: *Orderly Book.*—"The Commander in Chief, with the highest satisfaction, expresses his thanks to the officers and soldiers for the fortitude and patience with which they have sustained the fatigue of the campaign. Although, in some instances [we] unfortunately, failed; yet upon the whole Heaven hath smiled upon our arms and crowned them with signal success; and we may upon the best grounds conclude, that, by a spirited continuance of the measures necessary for our defence, we shall finally obtain the end of our warfare, Independence, Liberty, and Peace."

#### THURSDAY, DECEMBER 18.

At the Gulf Mill: This day having been set apart by Congress for public thanksgiving and prayer, the army remained in its quarters, and the chaplains performed service with their several corps and brigades.

#### FRIDAY, DECEMBER 19.

At Valley Forge: "*December 19th.*—The camp moved to near the Valley Forge, where we immediately struck up temporary huts covered with leaves. In a few days we began the building of our log huts."—*Diary of Joseph Clark*, "*Proceedings New Jersey Hist. Soc.*," vii. 103.

In general orders of December 18, Washington gave explicit directions for constructing the huts. He ordered the colonels or commanding officers of regiments to cause their men to be divided into parties of twelve, and see that each party had its proportion of tools, and commence a hut for that number; and, as an encouragement to industry and art, the general prom-



ised to reward the party in each regiment which finished its hut in the quickest and most workmanlike manner, with a present of twelve dollars. He also offered a reward of one hundred dollars to the officer or soldier who should substitute a covering for the huts, cheaper and more quickly made than boards. The exact dimensions and style of the huts were also carefully set forth.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 20.

At Valley Forge: *Orderly Book*.—"The army being now come to a fixed station, the Brigadiers and officers commanding brigades, are immediately to take effectual measures to collect and bring to camp all the officers and soldiers at present scattered about the country."

Valley Forge is situated in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, on the west side of the Schuylkill River, about twenty-two miles northwest of Philadelphia. Upon the hills surrounding the valley, then partly in Philadelphia (now Montgomery) County and partly in Chester County, Washington established the winter-quarters of the army, occupying his marquee until the huts were completed. When the men were comfortably settled, the Commander-in-Chief took up his own quarters in the village, at the small two-story stone house of Isaac Potts, near the mouth of Valley Creek. The house, which is still standing, was purchased in 1879, together with two and one-half acres of land, by an association entitled the "Centennial and Memorial Association of Valley Forge," organized and incorporated for the purpose of preserving it as Washington's head-quarters. Quite recently an additional acre and a half have been purchased, making altogether four acres of land immediately contiguous and pertaining to the VALLEY FORGE HEAD-QUARTERS.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 21.

At Valley Forge: *Orderly Book*.—"The General congratulates the army, on the arrival of a French Ship, at Portsmouth, with 48 brass cannon—4 pounders, with carriages complete—19 nine Inch mortars—2500 nine inch bombs—2000, four pound ball—entrenching tools—4100 stands of arms—a quantity of powder—and 61,051 lbs. of sulphur."

MONDAY, DECEMBER 22.

At Valley Forge: "It is with infinite pain and concern,

that I transmit to Congress the enclosed copies of sundry letters respecting the state of the commissary's department. In these matters are not exaggerated."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

These letters were from Generals Huntington and Varnum. The latter used the following language: "Three days successively we have been destitute of bread. Two days we have been entirely without meat. The men must be supplied, or they cannot be commanded."

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 23.

At Valley Forge: "I am now convinced beyond a doubt, that, unless some great and capital change suddenly takes place in that line [the commissary's department], this army must inevitably be reduced to one or other of these three things; starve, dissolve, or disperse in order to obtain subsistence in the best manner they can."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Notwithstanding this deplorable condition of the army, there were not wanting those who complained of its inactivity, and insisted on a winter campaign. At this time, the whole number of men in camp was eleven thousand and ninety-eight, of whom two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight were unfit for duty, "because they were barefoot and otherwise naked." In making this statement to Congress, and alluding to a memorial, or a remonstrance, of the Assembly of Pennsylvania against his going into winter-quarters, Washington said, "I can assure those gentlemen, that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow, without clothes or blankets. However, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them, and, from my soul, I pity those miseries, which it is neither in my power to relieve or prevent."

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30.

At Valley Forge: "A considerable number of our men are in warm, comfortable huts; but others have made little progress as yet, the march of several thousand of the enemy from Philadelphia to Derby (where they remained till the 28th) having obliged a considerable body of our men to

leave their work to watch them. The work is also retarded by the scarcity of tools. On Christmas day it snowed, and before the next morning it was four inches deep. The weather has since been clear and cold."—*Colonel Pickering to Mrs. Pickering.*

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31.

At Valley Forge: "I sincerely feel for the unhappy condition of our poor fellows in the hospitals, and wish my power to relieve them were equal to my inclination. It is but too melancholy a truth, that our hospital stores are exceedingly scanty and deficient in every instance, and I fear there is no prospect of their shortly being better. Our difficulties and distresses are certainly great, and such as wound the feelings of humanity. Our sick naked, and well naked, our unfortunate men in captivity naked!"—*Washington to Governor Livingston.*



1778.

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THURSDAY, JANUARY 1.

At Valley Forge: "The enemy returned into Philadelphia on Sunday last, having made a considerable hay forage, which appeared to be their only intention. As they kept themselves in close order, and in just such a position that no attack could be made upon them to advantage, I could do no more than extend light parties along their front, and keep them from plundering the inhabitants and carrying off cattle and horses; which had the desired effect."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

SATURDAY, JANUARY 3.

At Valley Forge: "Our army are tenting themselves; they are almost worn out with fatigue, and greatly distressed for want of clothing, particularly the article of shoes and stockings. The present mode of clothing the army will always leave us without a sufficient supply. The change in the Commissary department has been a very distressing circumstance; the army has been fed from hand to mouth ever since Mr. Trumbull left it. Our operations have been greatly retarded from the situation of the Commissary department. The Quartermaster-General's department also has been in a most wretched condition. General Mifflin, who ought to have been at the head of the business, has never been with the army since it came into the State."—*General Greene to Jacob Greene.*

Although the necessities of the army demanded a speedy change in the quartermaster's department, it was not until the 2d of March that General Greene was chosen to be the head of it. John Cox, a well-known merchant of Philadelphia, and Charles Pettit, a lawyer of New Jersey, secretary to



Governor Livingston at the time, were appointed assistants. The much-needed change in the commissary department, however, did not take place until later. On the 9th of April Congress elected Jeremiah Wadsworth, of Connecticut, commissary-general, and five days later adopted a plan for the management of the department, more liberal than the original one, which had induced the first commissary-general, Colonel Joseph Trumbull, to quit the department, and in its operation had nearly destroyed the army. The good effect growing out of the appointment of General Greene and Colonel Wadsworth is particularly mentioned by Washington in a letter to the President of Congress, dated August 3, 1778.

MONDAY, JANUARY 5.

At Valley Forge: "The letter you allude to, from the Committee of Congress and Board of War, came to hand on Saturday morning; but it does not mention the regulations adopted for removing the difficulties and failures in the commissary line. I trust they will be vigorous, or the army cannot exist. It will never answer to procure supplies of clothing or provision by coercive measures."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"The army has made good progress in hutting; but the want of tools has retarded the work. The huts are very warm and comfortable, being very good log-houses, pointed with clay, and the roof made tight with the same. The weather is now very mild, which is exceedingly favorable to our hutting; but 'tis a melancholy consideration, that hundreds of our men are unfit for duty, merely from the want of clothes and shoes."—*Colonel Pickering to Mrs. Pickering, January 5.*

TUESDAY, JANUARY 13.

At Valley Forge: "Military operations seem to be at an end for the winter. Sir William Howe is fixed in Philadelphia, and we have, by dint of labor and exposing the troops to the utmost severity of the season rather than give up the country to the ravages of the Enemy established a post at this place, where the men are scarcely now covered in log huts, having hitherto lived in tents and such temporary shelters as they could make up. The want of clothing, added to the rigor of the season, has occasioned them to suffer such hardships as will not be credited but by those

who have been spectators."—*Washington to General Robert Howe.*

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15.

At Valley Forge: "About the 15th of January, we had our huts nearly completed, and the men in comfortable quarters."—*Diary of Joseph Clark.*

TUESDAY, JANUARY 20.

At Valley Forge: "We have taken a post on the west side of the Schuylkill, about twenty miles from the city [Philadelphia], and with much pains and industry have got the troops tolerably well covered in huts."—*Washington to General Arnold.*

"January 20.—This morning about daylight a party of the enemy came out to our lines and had a curmige with our guards. Major Durban was wounded in the wrist; but there were two of the enemy, light horsemen, killed and one more wounded."—*Journal of Ebenezer Wild*, "Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc.," Second Series, vi. 106.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 25.

At Valley Forge: "I begin to be very apprehensive that the season will entirely pass away, before any thing material will be done for the defence of Hudson's River. You are well acquainted with the great necessity there is for having the works there finished, as soon as possible; and I most earnestly desire, that the strictest attention may be paid to every matter, which may contribute to finishing and putting them in a respectable state before the spring."—*Washington to General Putnam.*

As the forts and other works in the Highlands were entirely demolished by the British in October, 1777, it became necessary to decide whether they should be restored, or new places selected for that purpose. About the beginning of January the grounds were examined by General Putnam, Governor Clinton, General James Clinton, and Radière the French engineer; they all united, except Radière, in the opinion that West Point was the most eligible place to be fortified. A committee appointed by the Council



and Assembly of New York, after three days' reconnoitring, also came to the same conclusion. It was accordingly decided on the 13th of January, that the fortifications should be erected at West Point.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 27.

At Valley Forge: "I am much obliged by your polite request of my opinion and advice on the expedition to Canada and other occasions. In the present instance, as I neither know the extent of the objects in view, nor the means to be employed to effect them, it is not in my power to pass any judgment upon the subject. I can only sincerely wish, that success may attend it, both as it may advance the public good, and on account of the personal honor of the Marquis de Lafayette, for whom I have a very particular esteem and regard."—*Washington to General Gates.*

On January 22 Congress adopted a resolution that "an irruption be made into Canada, and that the Board of War be authorized to take every necessary measure for the execution of the business, under such general officers as Congress shall appoint." The following day the Marquis de Lafayette, Major-General Conway, and Brigadier-General Stark were elected to conduct the *irruption*. This proposition, which emanated from the Board of War, of which General Gates was president, was without the knowledge of the Commander-in-Chief, the appointment of Lafayette being made for the purpose of detaching him from Washington. In this, however, the conspirators were disappointed, and, finding they could not use the marquis, the expedition was abandoned.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28.

At Valley Forge: "The disagreeable picture, I have given you, of the wants and sufferings of the army, and the discontents reigning among the officers, is a just representation of evils equally melancholy and important; and unless effectual remedies be applied without loss of time, the most alarming and ruinous consequences are to be apprehended."—*Washington to a Committee of Congress.*

The above is the concluding paragraph of a lengthy paper (fifty folio pages) drawn up by the Commander-in-Chief for the use of a committee of Congress, then in camp for the purpose of consulting with him, in order to

mature a new system of arrangements for the administration of the army. Committee: Francis Dana, Joseph Reed, Nathaniel Folsom, John Harvie, Charles Carroll, and Gouverneur Morris. The paper or memoir, prepared from information communicated by the general officers, exhibits in detail the existing state of the army, the deficiencies and disorders, with their causes, and suggests such changes and improvements as were thought essential. This formed the basis of the plan adopted by the committee, who, after remaining in camp nearly three months, returned to Congress. The report, containing the result of their proceedings and the new scheme of the army, was approved.

The sessions of the committee were held at "Moore Hall," the seat of William Moore, Esq. about two and a half miles north of the Valley Forge head-quarters. The house, still standing, is the country-seat of the Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker of Philadelphia.

#### SATURDAY FEBRUARY 7.

At Valley Forge: "The present situation of the army is the most melancholy that can be conceived. Our supplies of provisions of the flesh kind for some time past have been very deficient and irregular. A prospect now opens of absolute want, such as will make it impossible to keep the army much longer from dissolution, unless the most vigorous and effectual measures be pursued to prevent it. Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland are now intirely exhausted." — *Washington to Peter Colt, Purchasing Commissary in Connecticut.*

#### SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 15.

At Valley Forge: "Lord Cornwallis has certainly embarked for England, but with what view is not so easy to determine. He was eyewitness a few days before his departure to a scene, not a little disgraceful to the pride of British valor, in their manœuvre to Chestnut Hill, and precipitate return, after boasting their intentions of driving us beyond the mountains." — *Washington to Richard Henry Lee.*

Lord Cornwallis sailed from Philadelphia for England, December 19, on private business, but returned June 6, and took part in the battle of Monmouth Court-House, June 28.



## MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16.

At Valley Forge: "For some days past, there has been little less than a famine in the camp. A part of the army has been a week without any kind of flesh, and the rest three or four days. Naked and starving as they are, we cannot enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery, that they have not been ere this excited by their suffering to a general mutiny and dispersion."—*Washington to Governor Clinton.*

"The situation of the camp is such, that in all human probability the army must soon dissolve. Many of the troops are destitute of meat, and are several days in arrear. The horses are dying for want of forage. The country in the vicinity of the camp is exhausted. There cannot be a moral certainty of bettering our circumstances, while we continue here."—*General Varnum to General Greene, February 12.*

## TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17.

At Valley Forge: "We have lately been in a most alarming situation for want of provisions. The soldiers were scarcely restrained from mutiny by the eloquence and management of our officers. Those who are employed to feed us, either for want of knowledge or for want of activity or both, never furnish supplies adequate to our wants."—*John Laurens to Henry Laurens.*

"The unfortunate soldiers were in want of everything; they had neither coats, hats, shirts, nor shoes; their feet and legs froze till they became black, and it was often necessary to amputate them. From want of money, they could neither obtain provisions nor any means of transport; the colonels were often reduced to two rations, and sometimes even to one. The army frequently remained whole days without provisions, and the patient endurance of both soldiers and officers was a miracle which each moment served to renew. But the sight of their misery prevented new engagements: it was almost impossible to levy recruits; it was easy to desert into the interior of the country."—*Memoirs of Lafayette.*

## WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 18.

At Valley Forge: Issues an address to the inhabitants of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Vir-

ginia, urging them to prepare cattle for the use of the army, during the months of May, June, and July.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 27.

At Valley Forge: "Baron Steuben has arrived [February 23] at camp. He appears to be much of a gentleman, and as far as I have had an opportunity of judging, a man of military knowledge, and acquainted with the world."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Peter S. Du Ponceau, who came to America with Baron Steuben, as his secretary, and who accompanied him to Valley Forge, has left us the following interesting recital of his impressions upon first seeing the Commander-in-Chief: "General Washington received the Baron with great cordiality, and to me he showed much condescending attention. I cannot describe the impression that the first sight of that great man made upon me. I could not keep my eyes from that imposing countenance—grave, yet not severe; affable, without familiarity. Its predominant expression was calm dignity, through which you could trace the strong feelings of the patriot, and discern the father as well as the commander of his soldiers. I have never seen a picture that represents him to me as I saw him at Valley Forge, and during the campaigns in which I had the honor to follow him. Perhaps that expression was beyond the skill of the painter; but while I live it will remain impressed on my memory. I had frequent opportunities of seeing him, as it was my duty to accompany the Baron when he dined with him, which was sometimes twice or thrice in the same week. We visited him also in the evening, when Mrs. Washington was at head-quarters. We were in a manner domesticated in the family."

SUNDAY, MARCH 1.

At Valley Forge: *Orderly Book*.—"The Commander in Chief again takes occasion to return his warmest thanks to the virtuous officers and soldiery of this army, for that persevering fidelity and zeal which they have uniformly manifested in all their conduct. Their fortitude, not only under the common hardships incident to a military life, but also under the additional sufferings to which the peculiar situation of these States had exposed them, clearly proves them worthy of the enviable privilege of contending for the rights of human nature, the freedom and independence of their



country. The recent instance of uncomplaining patience during the scarcity of provisions in Camp, is a fresh proof that they possess in an eminent degree the spirit of soldiers and the magnanimity of patriots."

THURSDAY, MARCH 5.

At Valley Forge: "I learn from undoubted authority, that General Clinton quarters in Captain Kennedy's house in the city of New York [No. 1 Broadway], which you know is near Fort George, and, by reason of the late fire, stands in a manner alone. What guards may be at or near his quarters, I cannot with precision say; and therefore shall not add anything on this score, lest it should prove a misinformation. But I think it one of the most practicable (and surely it will be among the most desirable and honorable), things imaginable to take him prisoner."—*Washington to General Parsons at West Point.*

In a second letter on the subject (March 8), enclosing a copy of that of the 5th, Washington suggested that the "officers and soldiers employed in the enterprise be dressed in red, and much in the taste of the British soldiery." General Parsons in reply, under date of March 16, wrote: "The Contents of your Excellency's Letter of ye 8th Shall be particularly attended to if no other Difficulties appear than at present offer themselves to view, perhaps an Attempt may be made within Eight Days, much sooner it cannot be for Reasons I will hereafter give, the Letter of the 5th refer'd to in that of the 8<sup>th</sup> not having come to hand gives me some concern, as that Falling into the Enemy's Hands may Wholly defeat Us; I shall be unwilling to make the Attempt unless it should arrive safe."

The letter of the 5th was afterwards received (March 18), but no attempt seems to have been made to carry out the design.

SATURDAY, MARCH 7.

At Valley Forge: "I came to this place, some time about the first of February [the 10th], where I found the General very well. I left my children at our house. . . The General is in camp in what is called the great valley on the Banks of the Schuylkill. Officers and men are chiefly in Hutts, which they say is tolerably comfortable; the army are as

healthy as can well be expected in general. The General's apartment is very small; he has had a log cabin built to dine in, which has made our quarter much more tolerable than they were at first."—*Mrs. Washington to Mrs. Mercy Warren.*

FRIDAY, MARCH 20.

At Valley Forge: "By death and desertion we have lost a good many men since we came to this ground, and have encountered every species of hardship, that cold, wet, and hunger, and want of clothes, were capable of producing; notwithstanding, and contrary to my expectations, we have been able to keep the soldiers from mutiny or dispersion; although, in the single article of provisions, they have encountered enough to have occasioned one or other of these in most other armies. They have been (two or three times) days together without provisions; and once, six days without any of the meat kind."—*Washington to General John Cadwalader.*

"Sunday next being the time on which the Quakers hold one of their general meetings, a number of that society will probably be attempting to go into Philadelphia. This is an intercourse that we should by all means endeavor to interrupt, as the plans settled at these meetings are of the most pernicious tendency. I would therefore have you dispose of your parties in such a manner as will most probably fall in with these people."—*Washington to General Lacey, March 20.*

TUESDAY, MARCH 24.

At Valley Forge: "As it is not improper for Congress to have some idea of the present temper of the army, it may not be amiss to remark in this place, that, since the month of August last, between two and three hundred officers have resigned their commissions, and many others were with difficulty dissuaded from it. In the Virginia line only, not less than six colonels, as good as any in the service, have left it lately; and more, I am told, are in the humor to do so."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*



SATURDAY, MARCH 28.

At Valley Forge: *Orderly Book*.—"The Baron Steuben, a Lieutenant General in foreign service and a gentleman of great military experience, having obligingly undertaken to exercise the office of Inspector General in the Army, the Commander-in-Chief, till the pleasure of Congress be known, desires he may be respected and obeyed as such, and hopes and expects that all officers, of whatsoever rank, will afford him every aid in their power in the execution of his office."

Frederick William Augustus, Baron von Steuben, a Prussian by birth, succeeded General Conway in the office of inspector-general of the American army, his real appointment dating May 5, five weeks later than the above-quoted order. His valuable services in improving the discipline of the army are too well known to need any comment. The following description of the condition of the army at Valley Forge, written by Steuben, shortly after his arrival in camp, is taken from Kapp's *Life of Steuben*: "The arms at Valley Forge were in a horrible condition, covered with rust, half of them without bayonets, many from which a single shot could not be fired. The pouches were quite as bad as the arms. A great many of the men had tin boxes instead of pouches, others had cow-horns; and muskets, carbines, fowling-pieces, and rifles were to be seen in the same company. The description of the dress is most easily given. The men were literally naked, some of them in the fullest extent of the word. The officers who had coats, had them of every color and make. I saw officers, at a grand parade at Valley Forge, mounting guard in a sort of dressing-gown, made of an old blanket or woollen bed-cover. With regard to their military discipline, I may safely say no such thing existed."

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 1.

At Valley Forge: "I must not omit to inform you that Baron Steuben is making a sensible progress with our soldiers. The officers seem to have a high opinion of him, and discover a docility from which we may augur the most happy effects. It would enchant you to see the enlivened scene of our Campus Martius. If Mr. Howe opens the campaign with his usual deliberation, and our recruits or draughts come in tolerably well, we shall be infinitely better prepared to meet him, than ever we have been."—*John Laurens to Henry Laurens*.

## SATURDAY, APRIL 4.

At Valley Forge: "I am happy to inform Congress, that General Lee will be out on parole to-morrow in place of General Prescott; and I have every reason to expect, if the negotiation can be continued upon admissable terms, that his exchange will immediately follow the releasement of Colonel Campbell and the Hessian field-officers."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

General Lee was exchanged, April 21, for Major-General Richard Prescott of the British army, who had been made prisoner on the night of July 10, 1777, at his quarters near Newport, R.I., by William Barton, lieutenant-colonel Rhode Island militia. At the time of his exchange (which was finally arranged at Germantown), Lee was at Yorktown on parole, and on the day fixed for his reporting to head-quarters, the greatest preparations were made for his reception: "All the principal Officers of the Army were drawn up in two lines, advanced of the Camp about 2 miles towards the Enemy. Then the Troops with the inferior officers formed a line quite to head Quarters—all the Music of the Army attended. The General with a great number of principal Officers and their Suites, rode about four miles on the road towards Philadelphia, and waited till Gen<sup>l</sup> Lee appeared. General Washington dismounted & rec<sup>d</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Lee as if he had been his Brother. He passed thro the Lines of Officers & the Army, who all paid him the highest military Honors to Head Quarters, where M<sup>rs</sup> Washington was, and here he was entertained with an elegant Dinner, and the music playing the whole Time. A Room was assigned him back of M<sup>rs</sup> Washingtons sitting-room, and all his baggage was stowed in it. . . Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington gave him the Command of the right wing of the Army, but before he took Charge of it, he requested leave to go to Congress at York Town, which was readily granted."\*—*MS. of Elias Boudinot.*

## MONDAY, APRIL 6.

At Valley Forge: "Mrs. Jones Mrs. Pleasants and two other Ladies connected with the Quaker's confined at Winchester in Virginia waited upon me this day for permission to pass to York Town [Pennsylvania] to endeavour to obtain the release of their Friends."—*Washington to Thomas Wharton, President of Pennsylvania.*

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\* General Lee rejoined the army at Valley Forge, May 20. His oath of allegiance to the United States, preserved in the Department of State, Washington, D.C., is dated June 9.



One of these ladies, Mrs. Henry Drinker, has left us, in her journal, a record of this visit to Valley Forge: "April 6, 1778.—Arrived at H<sup>d</sup> Quarters, at about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past one. We requested an audience with the General, and sat with his wife, (a sociable, pretty kind of woman), until he came in. A number of officers were there who were very complaisant, Tench Tilghman among ye rest. It was not long before G. Washington came, and discoursed with us freely, but not so long as we could have wished, as dinner was served, to which he invited us. There were 15 Officers, besides ye G<sup>l</sup> and his wife, Gen. Greene, and Gen. Lee. We had an elegant dinner, which was soon over, when we went out with ye Gen<sup>l</sup> wife, up to her Chamber—and saw no more of him. He told us, he could do nothing in our business further than granting us a Pass to Lancaster, which he did, and gave a letter to I<sup>d</sup> Morris for T. Wharton."—*Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, p. 93.

THURSDAY, APRIL 16.

At Valley Forge: "On the morning of the 16th [of April], we reached Washington's camp at Valley Forge, situated on the heights of the Schuylkill. Here I met friends and relatives from New-England. The army continues yet in winter-quarters, the fourth campaign being at hand. God grant that it may be as fortunate as the last! I spent a day in the camp, attending the reviews and examining the condition and situation of the army. My heart bled at the recital of their sufferings and privations the past winter. Exalted virtue and patriotism, and the strong attachment of the officers to General Washington, only held the army together. The poor soldiers were half naked, and had been half starved, having been compelled, for weeks, to subsist on simple flour alone, and this too in a land almost literally flowing with milk and honey. Oh, these detestable tories! I saw Washington on horseback attended by his aids, passing through the camp."—*Memoirs of Elkanah Watson*, p. 62.

MONDAY, APRIL 20.

At Valley Forge: "There seem to be but three general plans of operation, which may be premeditated for the next campaign; one, the attempting to recover Philadelphia and destroy the enemy's army there; another, the endeavoring



to transfer the war to the northward by an enterprise against New York; and a third, the remaining quiet in a secure, fortified camp, disciplining and arranging the army till the enemy begin their operations, and then to govern ourselves accordingly—which of these three plans shall we adopt?”—*Washington to General Greene.*

The letter from which the above is an extract was sent as a circular to all the general officers in camp, each of whom returned a written reply. They differed widely in opinion. Wayne, Paterson, and Maxwell recommended an attack on Philadelphia. Knox, Poor, Varnum, and Muhlenberg were in favor of an attack on New York. Greene thought it best for the main body of the army to remain at Valley Forge, but that an attack should be made on New York by a detachment of four thousand regulars, joined to the eastern militia; that General Washington should command this expedition in person, and leave General Lee to command in Pennsylvania. Lord Stirling was for operating against both New York and Philadelphia. Lafayette, Steuben, and Duportail had doubts as to the expediency of any attack upon the enemy, till the army should be strengthened and put in a better condition; and they were inclined to adopt the third plan suggested by the Commander-in-Chief.

TUESDAY, APRIL 21.

At Valley Forge: “The enemy are beginning to play a game more dangerous, than their efforts by arms (though these will not be remitted in the smallest degree), which threatens a fatal blow to the independence of America, and of course to her liberties. They are endeavoring to ensnare the people by specious allurements of peace. . . . Nothing short of independence, it appears to me, can possibly do. A peace on other terms would, if I may be allowed the expression, be a peace of war. The injuries we have received from the British were so unprovoked, and have been so great and so many, that they can never be forgotten.”—*Washington to John Banister.*

The above remarks were induced by the perusal of Lord North's *Conciliatory Bills*, as they were called, copies of which had reached head-quarters on April 17. The Earl of Carlisle, George Johnstone, formerly governor of West Florida, and William Eden, the three commissioners appointed under their provisions, accompanied by Adam Ferguson, Professor of Moral

Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, as secretary, arrived in the Delaware River on the 4th of June. After the commissioners reached Philadelphia, Sir Henry Clinton wrote to Washington, requesting a passport for Dr. Ferguson to proceed to Congress at York, Pennsylvania, with despatches. The request was declined (*Sparks*, v. 397), and the letter containing it was forwarded to Congress. Not waiting for the result, the commissioners forwarded their papers to Congress, which were received on the 13th of June. Congress ordered a reply to be returned to the commissioners, in which, after expressing a readiness to make peace whenever the King of Great Britain should manifest a sincere disposition for that purpose, the President, Henry Laurens, added, "The only solid proof of this disposition will be, an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these States, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies." The commissioners remained in the country until October, and made various attempts, by art and by official intercourse, to gain their object. The reply of Joseph Reed to an offer of money and position, to induce him to exert his influence in behalf of the commissioners, is well known: "I am not worth purchasing, but, such as I am, the King of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it."

#### WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22.

At Valley Forge: By order of Congress, observed as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer.

#### FRIDAY, MAY 1.

At Valley Forge: "With infinite pleasure I beg leave to congratulate Congress on the very important and interesting advices brought by the frigate *Sensible*. General McDougall and Mr. Deane were so obliging as to transmit me the outlines of the good tidings."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

Simeon Deane, brother to Silas Deane, one of the American Commissioners in Paris, was the bearer of the despatches containing the treaties between France and the United States. He came over in the French frigate *Sensible*, of thirty-six guns, which was sent by the King for the express purpose, and arrived at Falmouth (now Portland) in Casco Bay, on the 18th of April, after a passage of thirty-five days. He reached Yorktown on Saturday, the 2d of May. Congress had adjourned till Monday, but the members were immediately summoned to assemble by the president, and the despatches were read.

#### SATURDAY, MAY 2.

At Valley Forge: *Orderly Book*.—"The Commander in



Chief directs that Divine Service be performed every Sunday at 11 o'clock, in each Brigade which has a Chaplain. Those Brigades which have none will attend the places of worship nearest to them."

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6.

At Valley Forge: Issues an order for a grand military *fête* and jubilee by the army, to celebrate the conclusion of the treaty of alliance between France and the United States.

The treaties of commerce and alliance between France and the United States were signed on the 6th of February. The first meeting between the French Minister and the American Commissioners, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty, was held at Versailles on the 12th of December. It was stated, in an article of the treaty of alliance, to be its direct end, "to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, of the United States, as well in matters of government as commerce."

THURSDAY, MAY 7.

At Valley Forge: In pursuance of the order of the 6th, a day of general rejoicing in the army.

At nine o'clock in the morning, Washington, Lord Stirling, Greene, and other general officers, with their ladies and suites, attended the religious services of the Jersey brigade. At half-past eleven the Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by the general officers, reviewed the whole army at their respective posts, after which he dined in public with all the officers of his army, attended by a band of music. "The entertainment was concluded with a number of patriotic toasts, attended with huzzas. When the General took his leave, there was a universal clap, with loud huzzas, which continued till he had proceeded a quarter of a mile, during which time there were a thousand hats tossed in the air. His Excellency turned round with his retinue, and huzzaed several times."

FRIDAY, MAY 8.

At Valley Forge: A council of war, in which it was determined "that the line of conduct most consistent with sound policy, and best suited to promote the interests and safety of the United States, was to remain on the defensive and wait events, and not attempt any offensive operations



against the enemy, till circumstances should afford a fairer opportunity for striking a successful blow."

At this council, which was convened by order of Congress, the Commander-in-Chief stated that the Continental force amounted to fifteen thousand, besides horse and artillery. Of these eleven thousand eight hundred were at Valley Forge, fourteen hundred at Wilmington, and eighteen hundred on the North River. When all the reinforcements were brought in that it was reasonable to anticipate, the whole army fit for action could not be expected to amount to more than twenty thousand.

MONDAY, MAY 11.

At Valley Forge: *Orderly Book*.—"The General officers are requested to meet at Head Quarters at 11 o'clock tomorrow, A.M. that they may take the oath appointed by Congress in a Resolution of the 3d of February last, which was published in the order of the 7th inst."

"Resolved, That every officer who holds or shall hereafter hold a commission or office from Congress shall take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation: I do acknowledge the United States of America to be free, independent and sovereign States, and declare that the people thereof owe no allegiance or obedience to George the third, King of Great Britain; and I renounce, refuse and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him: and I do swear (or affirm) that I will to the utmost of my power support, maintain and defend the said United States against the said King George the third, and his heirs and successors, and his and their abettors, assistants and adherents, and will serve the said United States in the office which I now hold, with fidelity, according to the best of my skill and understanding. So help me God."—*Journal of Congress*, February 3, 1778.

THURSDAY, MAY 14.

At Valley Forge: "*May 14*.—This afternoon at 4 o'clock we turned out to exercise. Genl Glover's, Poor's, and Larnerd's Brigades formed a Division, and went through a number of manœuvres before his Excellency Genl Washington and members of the grand Congress."—*Journal of Ebenezer Wild*.

MONDAY, MAY 18.

At Valley Forge: "A valuable detachment under the command of the Marquis de Lafayette, marched this morn-

ing, which is intended to move between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, for restraining the enemy's parties and procuring intelligence and to act as circumstances may require." — *Washington to the President of Congress.*

SUNDAY, MAY 24.

At Valley Forge: "On the night of the 19th the enemy moved out in force against the detachment under the Marquis de Lafayette, mentioned in my letter of the 18th, which made a timely and handsome retreat in great order over the Schuylkill at Matson's Ford." — *Washington to the President of Congress.*

A graphic description of the affair at Barren Hill, about twelve miles from Valley Forge, on the opposite side of the Schuylkill, will be found in *Sparks*, v. 545.

MONDAY, MAY 25.

At Valley Forge: "If any thing of greater moment had occurred, than declaring that every word contained in the pamphlet, which you were obliging enough to send me, was spurious, I should not have suffered your favor of the 6th instant to remain so long unacknowledged. These letters are written with a great deal of art. The intermixture of so many family circumstances (which, by the by, want foundation in truth) gives an air of plausibility, which renders the villainy greater; as the whole is a contrivance to answer the most diabolical purposes. Who the author of them is, I know not." — *Washington to Richard Henry Lee.*

In allusion to the "forged" letters, published at London in June, 1777, under the title "Letters from General Washington, to several of his Friends in the year 1776. In which are set forth a fairer and fuller view of American Politics, than ever yet transpired, or the Public could be made acquainted with through any other Channel." The letters, seven in number, were reprinted at New York in 1778, and at Philadelphia in 1795, and again at New York, with other letters, in 1796, with the title "Epistles, domestic, confidential and official from General Washington." The appearance of the latter publication called out a letter from Washington to Timothy Pickering (March 3, 1797), in which he declared them to be base forgeries, and



said that he had never seen or heard of them until they appeared in print. An interesting note concerning these letters, and ascribing the authorship to "John Randolph the last royal attorney general of Virginia, and long the ablest lawyer in the colony, who went to England in 1775," will be found in Ford's "Writings of George Washington," iv. 132.

FRIDAY, MAY 29.

At Valley Forge: "That the enemy mean to evacuate Philadelphia is almost reduced to a certainty. It is as much so, as an event can be, that is contingent. Their baggage and stores are nearly if not all embarked; and, from our intelligence, there is reason to conclude, that many days will not elapse before they abandon it."—*Washington to Governor Clinton*.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5.

At Valley Forge: "What the real designs of the enemy are, remains yet to be discovered. Appearances and a thousand circumstances induce a belief that they intend to pass through the Jerseys to New York."—*Washington to General Dickinson*.

"The enemy had resolved to evacuate Philadelphia as early as the 23d of May, and perhaps before. On that day General Clinton [who took command on the 11th of May] wrote to Lord George Germain that he had determined to leave Philadelphia and proceed to New York with the whole army, as soon as it could be done. Orders for evacuating Philadelphia had been sent by the ministry, dated March 21, immediately after the French government had publicly declared, that a treaty had been made with the United States. Gordon says (*History*, vol. iii. p. 130) that the order for evacuation was brought out by the commissioners, and that it was a secret even to them. But the fact is, it was contained in the instructions to Sir Henry Clinton, as the successor of Sir William Howe, and was received by him several days before the arrival of the commissioners."—*Sparks*, v. 395.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17.

At Valley Forge: A council of war, in which among other questions proposed was, "If the enemy march through Jersey, will it be prudent to attack them on the way, or more eligible to proceed to the North River in the most direct and convenient manner, to secure the important com-



munication between the Eastern and Southern States?" Nearly all the officers were opposed to an attack, on account of the inequality of force, but some thought it should depend on circumstances. Washington was desirous of attacking the enemy, in which he was supported by Greene, Lafayette, Wayne, and Cadwalader.

THURSDAY, JUNE 18.

At Valley Forge: "*Head-Quarters*, Half after eleven A.M., 18 June. I have the pleasure to inform Congress, that I was this minute advised by Mr. Roberts that the enemy evacuated the city early this morning. . . . I have put six brigades in motion; and the rest of the army are preparing to follow with all possible despatch. We shall proceed towards Jersey, and govern ourselves according to circumstances."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"June 18.—This day we learned the enemy had left Philadelphia. About 12 o'clock Genl Poor's, Varnons [Varnum's], & Huntington's Brigades [under General Lee] marched off. At three o'clock the 2d Pennsylvania & another Southern Brigade marched off; and we had orders with the rest of the whole army to march to-morrow morning at 5 o'clock."—*Journal of Ebenezer Wild.*

FRIDAY, JUNE 19.

Leaves Valley Forge: "The enemy evacuated Philadelphia, on the 18th instant. At ten [?] o'clock that day I got intelligence of it, and by two o'clock, or soon after, had six brigades on their march for the Jerseys, and followed with the whole army next morning."—*Washington to John Augustine Washington*, July 4, 1778.

"June 19.—At 5 o'clock the general was beat before the Brigade, & we struck our tents & loaded our baggage. Between 9 & 10 o'clock we marched off, and making several short stops on the road to rest ourselves; we pitched our tents in a field. We had orders to cook all our provision, & be ready to march at 4 o'clock tomorrow morning. We have marched 9 miles this day. This place is called Norringtown."—*Journal of Ebenezer Wild.*

SATURDAY, JUNE 20.

At Doylestown, Pennsylvania: "I am now with the

main body of the army within ten miles of Coryell's Ferry. General Lee is advanced with six brigades, and will cross [the Delaware] to-night or to-morrow morning. . . . I shall enter the Jerseys to-morrow."—*Washington to General Gates*.

The Doylestown of 1778 was a cross-roads hamlet, about ten miles from Coryell's Ferry on the Delaware (now New Hope), consisting of a tavern kept by William Doyle, and several small houses. Washington pitched his tent near the dwelling of Jonathan Fell, late John G. Mann's farm-house, just east of the present borough. The Doylestown of 1892, the county-seat of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, is a town of three thousand inhabitants.

#### SUNDAY, JUNE 21.

At Doylestown: "The whole army is advancing to the Delaware. We have been much impeded by rain. The troops with General Lee crossed the river last night."—*Washington to General Arnold*.

#### MONDAY, JUNE 22.

At Coryell's Ferry (now Lambertville), New Jersey: "I have the honor to inform you that I am now in Jersey, and that the troops are passing the river at Coryell's, and are mostly over. . . . We have been a good deal impeded in our march by rainy weather. As soon as we have cleaned the arms, and can get matters in train, we propose moving towards Princeton."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

"June 22d, the whole army encamped near the new meeting house; having got word that the enemy were moving towards Trenton, the army marched next morning towards them, and encamped at Hopewell, the enemy having altered their route towards Monmouth."—*Diary of Joseph Clark*.

#### WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24.

At Hopewell, New Jersey: A council of war, after which, Washington decided to attack the enemy.

"*Hopewell Township*, New Jersey, 4 o'clock A.M., 25th June, 1778.—The enemy are now at Allen Town, about ten miles southeast of Princeton, and we are about six miles north [of] Princeton, so that the two armies are now

about nineteen or twenty miles apart. We are now on the march towards them, and their movements this day will determine whether we shall come in close contact with each other. We have now very numerous parties harassing and teasing them on all quarters."—*General Knox to William Knox.*

THURSDAY, JUNE 25.

At Kingston, New Jersey: "You are immediately to proceed with the detachment commanded by General Poor, and form a junction as expeditiously as possible with that under the command of General Scott. You are to use the most effectual means for gaining the enemy's left flank and rear, and giving them every degree of annoyance. All Continental parties, that are already on the lines, will be under your command."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

In the council of war held at Hopewell on the 24th, General Lee had been strongly opposed to attacking the enemy, and when this measure was decided upon, he gave up the command of the advanced divisions to Lafayette; but he afterwards altered his mind, and requested to be restored to the command.

The army left Kingston in the evening of the 25th and arrived at Cranberry early the next morning.

FRIDAY, JUNE 26.

At Cranberry, New Jersey: "Your uneasiness on account of the command of yesterday's detachment fills me with concern, as it is not in my power fully to remove it without wounding the feelings of the Marquis de Lafayette. . . . The expedient I would propose, is, for you to march towards the Marquis with Scott's and Varnum's brigades. Give him notice, that you are advancing to support him, and that you are to have the command of the whole advanced body."—*Washington to General Lee.*

As Lee was the senior major-general, this gave him the command of the whole advance. Washington explained the matter in a letter of the same date to Lafayette, who accordingly resigned the command to General Lee, when the latter joined him on the 27th.



## SATURDAY, JUNE 27.

Three miles west of Englishtown, New Jersey: In camp with the main body of the army.

About five o'clock in the morning of the 28th, Washington put the army in motion, and after marching to within three miles of Monmouth Court-House, met the whole advanced corps under the command of General Lee retiring in the greatest disorder, and the enemy pressing upon their rear. Under the directions of the Commander-in-Chief, however, the troops were rallied and the enemy's advance checked.

## SUNDAY, JUNE 28.

At the battle of Monmouth Court-House: "Which from an unfortunate and bad beginning, turned out a glorious and happy day."—*Washington to John Augustine Washington*, July 4, 1778.

"During this affair, which ended so well, although begun so ill, General Washington appeared to arrest fortune by one glance, and his presence of mind, valour, and decision of character, were never displayed to greater advantage than at that moment. The general and he [Lafayette] passed the night lying on the same mantle, talking over the conduct of Lee, who wrote the next morning a very improper letter, and was placed under arrest. He was afterwards suspended by a council of war, quitted the service, and was not regretted by the army."—*Memoirs of Lafayette*.

## MONDAY, JUNE 29.

At Monmouth Court-House: "About seven o'clock yesterday morning, both armies advanced on each other. About twelve, they met on the grounds near Monmouth Court-House, when an action commenced. We forced the enemy from the field, and encamped on the ground. They took a strong post in our front, secured on both flanks by morasses and thick woods, where they remained till about twelve at night, and then retreated."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

"The Commander-in-Chief congratulates the Army on the victory obtained over the arms of his Britannic Majesty yesterday, and thanks, most sincerely, the gallant officers and men who distinguished themselves upon the occasion, and such others as, by their good order and coolness, gave the

happiest presages of what might have been expected had they come to action."—*Orderly Book*, June 29.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 1.

At Englishtown: "Being fully convinced by the gentlemen of this country that the enemy cannot be hurt or injured in their embarkation at Sandy Hook, the place to which they are going, and unwilling to get too far removed from the North River, I put the troops in motion early this morning."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

Washington fell back from Monmouth Court-House, after the battle, to Englishtown, about five miles to the westward. He left Englishtown on July 1, and reached New Brunswick on the following day, the army encamping on both sides of the Raritan River.

FRIDAY, JULY 3.

At New Brunswick, New Jersey: "The march from Englishtown was inconceivably distressing to the troops and horses. The distance is about twenty miles through a deep sand without a drop of water, except at South River, which is half way. . . . My present intention is to cross the North River at King's Ferry."—*Washington to General Gates*.

"To-morrow [July 4th], the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, will be celebrated by firing thirteen pieces of cannon and a feu de joie of the whole line. The army will be formed on the Brunswick side of the Raritan, at five o'clock in the afternoon, on the ground pointed out by the Quartermaster-General."—*Orderly Book*, July 3.

TUESDAY, JULY 7.

At New Brunswick: "On Sunday morning, the left wing of the army moved towards the North River; the right followed yesterday; and the second line, which forms the rear division, is also now in motion."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

"The army moved from Brunswick by the following Stages:—1st, to Scotch Plains; 2d, Springfield; 3d, Wardiston; 4th, Aquackanonk; 5th, Musamus; 6th, Cakaryatt [Kakeate]; 7th, King's Ferry, where the army ed. Scott's and Woodford's brigades crossed July 17th. Next day Scott's brigades proceeded on towards Croton's Bridge. Gen'l Wood-



ford's marched by Peekskill to above the village, where they lay till Monday, July 20th, then followed after the army which had by this time got within 7 miles of White Plains. . . . Friday, 24th, the army moved down to White Plains and joined Gen'l Gates' army."—*Diary of Joseph Clark*.

#### SATURDAY, JULY 11.

At Paramus, New Jersey: "The left wing of the army is advanced four miles from this place, and nineteen miles from King's Ferry; the other two divisions are moving after it, with proper intervals. The enemy, since quitting the Jerseys, have encamped in three divisions on Staten Island, New York Island and Long Island."—*Washington to General Arnold*.

The village of Paramus, at which Washington made his head-quarters until July 15, is in Bergen County, New Jersey, near the New York line, and about forty miles northeast of New Brunswick.

#### SUNDAY, JULY 12.

At Paramus: "The vote of approbation and thanks, which Congress have been pleased to honor me with, gives me the highest satisfaction, and at the same time demands a return of my sincerest acknowledgments. . . . The left wing of the army, which advanced yesterday four miles beyond this, moved this morning on the route towards King's Ferry. The right and second line, which make the last division, are now here, where they will halt for a day or two, or perhaps longer."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

"Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of Congress be given to general Washington for the activity with which he marched from the Camp at Valley Forge in pursuit of the enemy; for his distinguished exertions in forming the line of battle; and for his great good conduct in leading on the attack and gaining the important victory of Monmouth over the British grand army under the command of general sir H. Clinton, in their march from Philadelphia to New York."—*Journal of Congress*, July 7, 1778.

#### TUESDAY, JULY 14.

At Paramus: "I take the earliest opportunity to advise



you, that I have been informed of your arrival on this coast, with a fleet of Ships under your command, belonging to his Most Christian Majesty, our great ally. I congratulate you, Sir, most sincerely upon this event, and beg leave to assure you of my warmest wishes for your success. The intelligence of your arrival was communicated to me last night by a Letter from the Honble. Mr. Laurens, President of the Congress."—*Washington to Count d'Estaing*.

This fleet, composed of twelve ships of the line and six frigates, with a land force of four thousand men, fitted out in accordance with the spirit of the treaty of alliance with France (February 6, 1778), had sailed from Toulon on the 13th of April, but did not reach the mouth of the Delaware till the 8th of July. It had on board M. Gérard, the French Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, and Silas Deane, one of the American commissioners who had effected the treaty of alliance. Count d'Estaing, finding that the British had evacuated Philadelphia, sent up the French minister and Mr. Deane to the city in a frigate, and proceeded with the fleet to Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the 11th of July. In August, in co-operation with land forces under General Sullivan, he made a demonstration against Newport, R.I., which obliged the British to destroy six of their frigates and some smaller vessels lying there; but the fleet was so shattered by a storm as to be obliged to refit at Boston. In 1779 he sailed to the West Indies, and in October of that year, in co-operation with the Southern army, under General Lincoln, attempted to recover Savannah, which had fallen into the hands of the British in December, 1778. The attempt was unsuccessful, D'Estaing himself being wounded in the assault. The fleet reached France on its return in December, 1779.

#### WEDNESDAY, JULY 15.

Leaves Paramus: Washington moved the army on the 15th to Haverstraw, New York, five miles below Stony Point (the western landing of King's Ferry), and on the following day visited West Point, fifteen miles up the river. On the 17th the troops began crossing the North River at King's Ferry, Washington passing over with the last division at about twelve o'clock noon on Sunday the 19th.

"July 16.—His Excellency the Commander in Chief visited West Point, to take a view of the works which are constructing there. His arrival was announced by the discharge of thirteen cannon, the number of the United States."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

## FRIDAY, JULY 17.

At Haverstraw, New York: "I had the honor of receiving the night of the 14th instant, your very obliging and interesting letter of the 13th dated off Sandy Hook, with a duplicate of another, dated the 8th at Sea."—*Washington to Count d'Estaing.*

In his letter of the 8th, after announcing the arrival of the fleet, Count d'Estaing added: "The talents and the great actions of General Washington have secured to him, in the eyes of all Europe, the truly sublime title of the liberator of America. Accept, Sir, the homage, which every man, and especially every military man, owes you; and be not displeased that I solicit, even in the first instance of intercourse, with military and naval frankness, a friendship so flattering as yours."

## WEDNESDAY, JULY 22.

At White Plains, New York: "On Monday afternoon [July 20th] I arrived at this place, in the neighborhood of which the right and left wing encamped that night, with the second line a few miles in the rear."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

## FRIDAY, JULY 24.

At White Plains: "It is neither the expense nor trouble of them [foreign officers] that I most dread. There is an evil more extensive in its nature, and fatal in its consequences, to be apprehended, and that is, the driving of all our own officers out of the service, and throwing not only our army, but our military councils, entirely into the hands of foreigners."—*Washington to Gouverneur Morris.*

Washington was exceedingly embarrassed by the foreign officers who were admitted into the service by Congress, and then turned over to him to be provided with employment, thus deranging the system of the army, and interfering with native officers.

## MONDAY, AUGUST 3.

At White Plains: "In justice to General Greene, I take occasion to observe, that the public is much indebted to him, for his judicious management and active exertions, in his

present department [quartermaster-general]. When he entered upon it, he found it in a most confused, distracted, and destitute state. This, by his conduct and industry, has undergone a very happy change, and such, as enabled us, with great facility, to make a sudden move, with the whole army & baggage from Valley forge, in pursuit of the Enemy, and to perform a march to this place. In a word, he has given the most general satisfaction and his affairs carry much the face of method and system. I also consider it as an act of justice to speak of the conduct of Colo. Wadsworth, Commissary General. He has been indefatigable in his exertions to provide for the Army, and since his appointment, our supplies of provisions have been good and ample.” — *Washington to the President of Congress.*

THURSDAY, AUGUST 20.

At White Plains: “It is not a little pleasing, nor less wonderful to contemplate, that after two years’ manœuvring and undergoing the strangest vicissitudes, that perhaps ever attended any one contest since the creation, both armies are brought back to the very point they set out from, and that which was the offending party in the beginning is now reduced to the use of the spade and pickaxe for defence.” — *Washington to General Nelson.*

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

At White Plains: “I intend to place the whole [army] in such a position in a day or two, that they may either march to the Eastward, or be within supporting distance of the posts upon the North River, as appearances may require.” — *Washington to General Sullivan.*

Washington remained at White Plains until the 16th of September, when he moved the camp to Fredericksburg, then a precinct of Dutchess County, now a portion of Putnam County, New York. His head-quarters were at Patterson, a village almost due east from Newburgh, and near the Connecticut line. Washington was at West Point on the 19th of September, but whether the visit was made before or after reaching Fredericksburg we cannot determine.



## WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.

At Fredericksburg: "The place I now date from is about thirty miles from the fort [West Point] on the North River; and I have some troops nearer, and others farther off, but all on the road leading to Boston, if we should be dragged that way."—*Washington to John Augustine Washington.*

In the same letter Washington wrote: "There are but two capital objects, which they [the enemy] can have in view, except the defeat and dispersion of this army; and those are the possession of the fortifications in the Highlands, by which the communication between the eastern and southern States would be cut off, and the destruction of the French fleet at Boston. . . . I have, therefore, in order to do the best that the nature of the case will admit, strengthened the works, and reinforced the garrison in the Highlands, and thrown the army into such positions, as to move eastward or westward, as circumstances may require."

## FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25.

At Fredericksburg: "Immediately upon my removal from the White Plains to this ground, the enemy threw a body of troops into the Jerseys; but for what purpose, unless to make a grand forage, I have not been able yet to learn."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

## SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3.

At Fishkill, New York: "The enemy in the Jerseys having received a reinforcement and made some forward movements, I ordered Major-General Putnam across the river for the immediate security of West Point, and moved a division of troops to this place, to be nearer that post. I have since come here myself, and propose to remain till the views of the enemy on the Jerseys are decided."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

When at Fishkill village (fifteen miles west of the Fredericksburg headquarters), Washington sometimes quartered at the house of Colonel John Brinckerhoff. The house, which was built in 1738, is still standing, and remains unaltered. It is now in the possession of Alfred White. The house of Colonel Derrick Brinckerhoff (a nephew of the former) was also resorted to by Washington. This house still remains in the Brinckerhoff family.

## SUNDAY, OCTOBER 4.

At Fishkill: "Can *we* carry on the war much longer? Certainly No, unless some measures can be devised & speedily executed to restore the credit of our currency, restrain extortion, & punish forestallers. Without these can be effected, what funds can stand the present expenses of the army? And what officer can bear the weight of prices, that every necessary article is now got to? A Rat in the shape of a horse, is not to be bought at this time for less than £200; A Saddle under Thirty or Forty;—Boots twenty,—and shoes and other articles in the like proportion."—*Washington to Gouverneur Morris.*

## THURSDAY, OCTOBER 8.

Visits the Hospital at the "Robinson House": "His Excellency the Commander in Chief, made a visit to our hospital; his arrival was scarcely announced, before he presented himself at our doors. Dr. Williams and myself had the honor to wait on this great and truly good man, through the different wards, and to reply to his inquiries relative to the condition of our patients. He appeared to take a deep interest in the situation of the sick and wounded soldiers, and inquired particularly as to their treatment and comfortable accommodations."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

Dr. Thacher's description of the personal appearance of Washington, at the time of this visit to the "Robinson House" (a little below West Point, on the opposite or east bank of the Hudson), is well worth transcribing: "The personal appearance of our Commander in Chief, is that of the perfect gentleman and accomplished warrior. He is remarkably tall, full six feet, erect and well proportioned. The strength and proportion of his joints and muscles, appear to be commensurate with the preeminent powers of his mind. The serenity of his countenance, and majestic gracefulness of his deportment, impart a strong impression of that dignity and grandeur, which are his peculiar characteristics, and no one can stand in his presence without feeling the ascendancy of his mind, and associating with his countenance the idea of wisdom, philanthropy, magnanimity, and patriotism. There is a fine symmetry in the features of his face indicative of a benign and dignified spirit. His nose is strait, and his eyes inclined to blue. He wears his



hair in a becoming cue, and from his forehead it is turned back and powdered in a manner which adds to the military air of his appearance. He displays a native gravity, but devoid of all appearance of ostentation. His uniform dress is a blue coat, with two brilliant epaulettes, buff colored under clothes, and a three cornered hat with a black cockade. He is constantly equipped with an elegant small sword, boots and spurs, in readiness to mount his noble charger."

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10.

At Fredericksburg: "I have just received intelligence, bearing strong marks of authenticity, that the enemy mean a total evacuation of New York. Various are the conjectures of their destination. I cannot think they mean to attempt any thing against Boston, considering the danger of taking a heavy fleet round Cape Cod at this advanced season."—*Washington to General Heath.*

"The enemy in reality had no designs against the French fleet at Boston, though it is probable they kept up an appearance of such a purpose by way of feint. Sir Henry Clinton wrote to Lord George Germain at this time, informing him that the convoy was ready, and five thousand troops would shortly be despatched to the West Indies, and three thousand more to Florida. 'With an army so much diminished at New York,' he added, 'nothing important can be done; especially as it is also weakened by sending seven hundred men to Halifax, and three hundred to Bermuda.'"—*Sparks*, vi. 88.

Washington returned to the Fredericksburg head-quarters about October 9, and remained there, with the exception of a second trip to Fishkill (noted in his expense account), until the 23th of November, when he set out for Middlebrook, New Jersey.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16.

At Fredericksburg: *Orderly Book*.—"To-Morrow being the glorious anniversary of the surrender of Gen<sup>l</sup> Burgoyne and his Troops to the arms of America under the Command of Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates, it will be Commemorated by the firing of 13 Pieces of Cannon from the park of artillery at 12 o'clock."

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14.

At Fredericksburg: "The question of the Canadian ex-



pedition, in the form in which it now stands, appears to me one of the most interesting that has hitherto agitated our national deliberations."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"In the autumn of this year [1778], while at Fishkill, Mr. Jay received a visit from General Washington, whose head-quarters were at the time in the adjoining county of Westchester [Dutchess]. The object of the visit was a confidential conversation on a plan then before Congress, for the invasion of Canada the ensuing campaign, by the combined forces of the United States and of France. They both concurred in disapproving of the plan."—*Life of John Jay*, i. 83.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16.

At Fredericksburg: "I have yours of the 13th, containing the disagreeable account of the attack upon Colonel Alden's regiment at Cherry Valley. . . It is in the highest degree distressing to have our frontier so continually harassed by this collection of banditti, under Brant and Butler."—*Washington to General Hand.*

Colonel Ichabod Alden commanded a regiment of Continental troops from Massachusetts, stationed at Cherry Valley, New York, a settlement near the head waters of the eastern branch of the Susquehanna. The attack on that place (November 10), and the massacre of its inhabitants by a party of Tories and Indians, commanded by Walter Butler and the noted Joseph Brant, constitute one of the most tragical events in the history of border warfare. Colonel Alden was killed, and many of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, were butchered in cold blood.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 27.

At Fredericksburg: "I am upon the eve of my departure for winter-quarters. . . . It is eleven o'clock at night, and I am to set out early in the morning."—*Washington to Joseph Reed.*

The disposition of the army for winter-quarters was as follows. Nine brigades were stationed on the west side of the Hudson, one of which, the North Carolina brigade, was near Smith's Clove; another, the Jersey brigade, at Elizabethtown; and seven, consisting of the Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania troops, were at Middlebrook. One brigade was at West Point in addition to the garrison, and five were on the east side of the

river; two at Fishkill and the Continental Village, and three, composed of the New Hampshire and Connecticut troops, and Hazen's regiment, in the vicinity of Danbury. The park of artillery was at Pluckamin.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 1.

At Elizabethtown, New Jersey: "In arranging the winter quarters of the army, Gen. Washington made choice of Middlebrook, Somerset County, N. J., for his own headquarters with seven brigades, detailing the Jersey Brigade to occupy Elizabeth Town, as the advanced post of the army. This brought him on the 1st of December, to this town [Elizabethtown], where he remained until the morning of the 5th. In honor of his visit, a festive entertainment was given, on the fourth."—*Hatfield's History of Elizabeth*, p. 471.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 7.

At Paramus, New Jersey: "I returned to this place from Elizabethtown, upon hearing that the enemy had gone up the North River, in considerable force. Their ships proceeded as far as King's Ferry, but they yesterday fell down again. . . . I shall set out to-morrow for Middlebrook."—*Washington to Governor Livingston*.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12.

At Middlebrook, New Jersey: "Sir Harry's late extra manoeuvre up the North River kept me upon the march and countermarch from the 5th till yesterday, when I arrived at these my quarters for the winter, and employed too much of my attention to investigate his designs, to indulge in more agreeable amusements."—*Washington to Joseph Reed*.

The letter from Washington to Joseph Reed, from which the above extract is made, was written to congratulate him on his election as President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13.

At Middlebrook: "I did not reach this place till late on



the 11th, since which I have been much employed in attending to the dispositions for hutting the army."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Washington's head-quarters, as stated by Andrew D. Mellick in his "Story of an Old Farm," were at the Wallace house, about four miles west of Middlebrook, on ground now in Somerville, the county-seat of Somerset County, New Jersey; the house is still standing. General Knox had his quarters at Pluckamin, six miles to the north of the Wallace house, where his artillery brigade was comfortably hutted. The main body of the army was located near to Middlebrook, or Bound Brook as it is more generally called.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 18.

At Middlebrook: "I beg you will accept my thanks for your obliging letter of the 30th ultimo, and the polite expressions of your friendship which accompany it. At the same time I am happy to congratulate you on your honorable acquittal with the approbation of Congress."—*Washington to General Schuyler.*

The charge against General Schuyler was *neglect of duty*, in not being present at Ticonderoga when it was evacuated by General St. Clair. The entire proceedings of the northern campaign of 1777, while General Schuyler had the command, were investigated by the court-martial at his request. He submitted in detail his instructions and orders, and was unanimously acquitted by the court "with the highest honor." This acquittal was confirmed by Congress, December 3.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 20.

At Middlebrook: "The army is now a hutting, I believe we are the first army that ever built themselves Winter-quarters at the close of a Campaign. The mode has an appearance of hardship and it is attended with many inconveniences to the Officers, but the Soldiers are very comfortable. We can barrack the Troops in a short time, and with little expense. . . His Excellency General Washington is going to Philadelphia in order to settle some points relating to certain expedition in contemplation to the N—d, t to-morrow."—*General Greene to John Hancock.*



## MONDAY, DECEMBER 21.

At Middlebrook: "Congress having been pleased to require my attendance at Philadelphia for a few days the immediate command of the Troops at this place will devolve upon your Lordship."—*Washington to Lord Stirling*.

## TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22.

At Philadelphia: "Last Tuesday [December 22] GEORGE WASHINGTON, esq., commander in chief of the army of the United States arrived here [Philadelphia]. Too great for pomp, and as if fond of the plain and respectable rank of a free and independent citizen, his excellency came in so late in the day as to prevent the Philadelphia, troop of militia lighthorse, gentlemen, officers of the militia, and others of this city, from shewing those marks of unfeigned regard for this good and great man, which they fully intended, and especially of receiving him at his entrance into the State, and escorting him hither."—*Pennsylvania Evening Post*, December 28, 1778.

## THURSDAY, DECEMBER 24.

At Philadelphia: In attendance on Congress, and is informed, from the chair, that Congress had directed his attendance "in order, among other things, to confer with him on the operations of the next campaign, and that a committee will be appointed for that purpose." On the same day receives and answers an address from the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

## MONDAY, DECEMBER 28.

At Philadelphia: Present at the celebration of the festival of St. John the Evangelist by the "Most ancient and worshipful Society of Free and accepted Masons," being honored with the chief place in the procession, supported on his right by the Grand Master, and on his left by the Deputy Grand Master. In the sermon preached in Christ Church,

on this occasion, by the Rev. Brother William Smith, D.D., Washington was alluded to as the Cincinnatus of America.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29.

At Philadelphia: "This will be accompanied by a letter from Congress, which will inform you, that a certain expedition, after a full consideration of all circumstances, has been laid aside."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

The "certain expedition" was the invasion of Canada by the combined forces, naval and military, of France and the United States, which had been advanced and strongly advocated by Lafayette. The scheme met the approbation of a large majority in Congress, but Washington opposed it, and the committee appointed on the 24th to confer with him reported against it. The report was approved by Congress, and the President was instructed to write to Lafayette, who was about returning to France on a visit. The marquis sailed from Boston January 11, 1779. The letters, however, did not reach him before his departure, so that he went to France without being informed of the decision of Congress.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30.

At Philadelphia: "If I was to be called upon to draw a picture of the times and of Men, from what I have seen, and heard, and in part know, I should in one word say that idleness, dissipation & extravagance seems to have laid fast hold of most of them.—That speculation—peculation—and an insatiable thirst for riches seems to have got the better of every other consideration and almost of every order of Men.—That party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day whilst the momentous concerns of an empire—a great and accumulated debt—ruined finances—depreciated money—and want of credit (which in their consequences is the want of everything) are but secondary considerations and postponed from day to day—from week to week as if our affairs wear the most promising aspect—after drawing this picture, which from my Soul I believe to be a true one, I need not repeat to you that I am alarmed and wish to see my Countrymen roused."—*Washington to Benjamin Harrison.*



## 1779.

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 6.

At Philadelphia: "I have lately been several times invited abroad with the General and Mrs. Washington. He always inquires after you in the most affectionate manner, and speaks of you highly. We danced at Mrs. Powell's your birth-day [January 6, (O.S.) 1706], or night I should say, in company together, and he told me it was the anniversary of his marriage [January 6, (N.S.) 1759]; it was just twenty years that night."—*Mrs. Bache to Dr. Franklin*, January 17, 1779.

Mrs. Powel (Elizabeth Willing), at whose house Mrs. Bache, daughter of Benjamin Franklin, danced in company together with General Washington, on the evening of January 6, 1779, was the wife of Samuel Powel, mayor of Philadelphia in 1775 and 1789. When in Philadelphia, Washington was a frequent visitor at the Powel house, still standing, on the west side of Third Street, between Walnut and Spruce Streets, No. 244; old number, 112.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 15.

At Philadelphia: "It is much to be regretted, that our prospect of any capital offensive operations is so slender, that we seem in a manner to be driven to the necessity of adopting the plan to remain intirely on the defensive; except such lesser operations against the Indians, as are absolutely necessary to divert their ravages from us. . . . The main Body of the army must take a position so as to be most easily subsisted, and at the same time best situated to restrain the Enemy from ravaging the Country. If they should hereafter weaken themselves still more, so as to give a favorable opening, we should endeavour to improve it."—*Washington to the Committee of Congress*.



The Committee of Congress, appointed December 24, 1778, to confer with the Commander-in-Chief on the operations of the next campaign, was composed of James Duane, Jesse Root, Melancthon Smith, Gouverneur Morris, and Henry Laurens. After submitting a paper containing *Minutes* of the several topics which were likely to be brought forward in the conference, Washington, at the request of the committee, made several explanatory communications, from one of which the above extract is made. The plan of a defensive campaign, suggested by the Commander-in-Chief, was finally adopted, as being the best under the circumstances, and the least expensive.

MONDAY, JANUARY 18.

At Philadelphia: Present at a banquet given by Congress to the French minister, to celebrate the French alliance, at which thirteen toasts were drunk, accompanied by salutes of artillery.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 20.

At Philadelphia: Informs the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, by letter, of his willingness to sit to Charles Willson Peale for his portrait, to be placed in the Council Chamber, as requested by them in a resolution of January 18.

For the history of this portrait, destroyed in September, 1781, and the engraving of it executed by Mr. Peale in 1780, consult the paper entitled "The History of a Rare Washington Print," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. xiii. p. 257. See Frontispiece.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 29.

At Philadelphia: "My long and unexpected stay in this City being attended with many inconveniences to the common business of the army, and in other respects, I feel myself under the necessity of requesting the permission of Congress to return; and, if consistent with their views, I should be glad to set out for the camp at Middlebrook on Monday next."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1.

At Philadelphia: Sits to Pierre Eugène du Simitière for his portrait, the sitting being recorded in the note-book of

the artist, printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. xiii. p. 359: "Paintings & Drawings done 1779 feby 1<sup>st</sup> a drawing in black lead of a likeness in profil of his Excellency general Washington, form of a medal, for my collection. NB the general at the request of the Hon. M<sup>r</sup> Jay President of congress, came with him to my house this morning & condescended with great good nature to Sit about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an hour for the above likeness, having but little time to Spare being the last day of his stay in town."

The drawing by Du Simitière is not in existence, but the portrait is well known through engravings, the first of which was published at Madrid in 1781. See Baker's "Engraved Portraits of Washington," pp. 39, 41.

#### TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 2.

Leaves Philadelphia: "Tuesday morning [February 2], His Excellency General Washington set off from Philadelphia to join the army in New Jersey. During the course of his short stay (the only relief he has enjoyed from service since he first entered into it), he has been honored with every mark of esteem which his exalted qualities as a gentleman and a citizen entitle him to. His Excellency's stay was rendered the more agreeable by the company of his lady, and the domestic retirement which he enjoyed at the house of the Honorable Henry Laurens, Esquire, with whom he resided."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, February 4, 1779.

#### FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 5.

At Middlebrook, New Jersey: "It was not till the 5th instant, I returned to this place. While in Philadelphia what between Congress and a special committee of that body I was furnished with ample employment. I had few moments of relaxation."—*Washington to General Schuyler*, February 11.

#### THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18.

At General Knox's quarters, Pluckamin: "The anniversary of our alliance with France was celebrated in proper



style near headquarters, at Pluckemin. A splendid entertainment was given by General Knox and the officers of the artillery. General Washington, and his lady, with the principal officers of the army and their ladies, and a considerable number of respectable ladies and gentlemen of the state of New Jersey, formed the brilliant assembly. About four o'clock sixteen cannon were discharged, and the company collected in a large public building to partake of an elegant dinner. In the evening a very beautiful set of fire works was exhibited, and the celebration was concluded by a splendid ball opened by his Excellency General Washington, having for his partner the lady of General Knox."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

This celebration was in honor of the first anniversary of the French alliance; it should properly have taken place on the 6th, but was deferred to the 18th because of Washington's absence from camp. General Knox, in a letter of February 28, wrote to his brother: "We had at the Park [of artillery] on the 18th a most genteel entertainment given by self and officers. Everybody allows it to be the first of the kind ever exhibited in this State at least. We had above seventy ladies, all of the first *ton* in the State, and between three and four hundred gentlemen. We danced all night—an elegant room, the illuminating, fireworks, &c., were more than pretty. It was to celebrate the alliance between France and America."

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 25.

At Middlebrook: "*February 26th.*—Yesterday I accompanied Major Cavil to head quarters, and had the honor of being numbered among the guests at the table of his Excellency, with his lady, two young ladies from Virginia, the gentlemen who compose his family, and several other officers. It is natural to view with keen attention the countenance of an illustrious man, with a secret hope of discovering in his features some peculiar traces of excellence, which distinguishes him from and elevates him above his fellow mortals. These expectations are realized in a peculiar manner, in viewing the person of General Washington. His tall and noble stature and just proportions, his fine, cheerful open



countenance, simple and modest deportment, are all calculated to interest every beholder in his favor, and to command veneration and respect. He is feared even when silent, and beloved even while we are unconscious of the motive. . . . In conversation, his Excellency's expressive countenance is peculiarly interesting and pleasing; a placid smile is frequently observed on his lips, but a loud laugh, it is said, seldom if ever escapes him. He is polite and attentive to each individual at table, and retires after the compliment of a few glasses. Mrs. Washington combines in an uncommon degree, great dignity of manner with the most pleasing affability, but possesses no striking marks of beauty."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

MONDAY, MARCH 8.

At Middlebrook: "Nothing of importance has happened since you left us, except the Enemy's invasion of Georgia, and possession of its capital [Savannah]. . . . The American Troops are again in Hutts; but in a more agreeable and fertile country, than they were in last winter at Valley Forge; and they are better clad and more healthy, than they have ever been since the formation of the army. Mrs. Washington is now with me."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette* at Paris.

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell sailed from Sandy Hook, on the 27th of November, 1778, with more than two thousand land troops, covered by a small squadron under Commodore Parker. The fleet arrived at Tybee Island, near the mouth of the Savannah River, on the 23d of December. Six days afterwards the vessels and transports crossed the bar, and the troops were landed at daybreak three miles below the town. General Robert Howe, with about six hundred Continentals and a few hundred militia, opposed their advance, but was defeated, and Savannah passed into the hands of the British. An attempt was made to recapture it, October 9, 1779, by the combined French and American forces under D'Estaing and Lincoln, which failed, and the enemy retained possession until July 11, 1782, when it was evacuated.

MONDAY, MARCH 15.

At Middlebrook: "It gives me very singular pleasure to

find that you have again taken a seat in Congress. I think there never was a time, when cool and dispassionate reasoning, strict attention and application, great integrity, and, if it was in the nature of things, unerring wisdom, were more to be wished for, than at the present."—*Washington to Thomas Nelson.*

"*March 19.*—We had a little dance at my quarters a few evenings past. His Excellency and Mrs. Greene danced upwards of three hours without once sitting down."—*General Greene to Colonel Wadsworth.*

General Greene's quarters were at the Van Veghten house, located midway between Bound Brook and Somerville, on the banks of the Raritan.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 31.

At Middlebrook: "Speculation, Peculation, Engrossing, forestalling, with all their concomitants, afford too many melancholy proofs of the decay of public virtue, and too glaring instances of its being the interest and desire of too many, who would wish to be thought friends, to continue the war. Nothing, I am convinced, but the depreciation of our currency, proceeding in a great measure from the foregoing causes, aided by stockjobbing and party dissensions, has fed the hopes of the Enemy and kept the British arms in America to this day. They do not scruple to declare this themselves, and add, that we shall be our own conquerors."—*Washington to James Warren.*

TUESDAY, APRIL 13.

At Middlebrook: "*April 13th.*—We have passed a winter remarkably mild and moderate; since the 10th of January, we have scarcely had a fall of snow, or a frost, and no severe weather."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

FRIDAY, APRIL 23.

At Middlebrook: "Is there any thing doing, or that can be done, to restore the credit of our money? The depreciation of it has got to so alarming a point, that a wagon-load of money will scarcely purchase a wagon-load of provisions."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Continental paper-money began to depreciate early in 1777. On the 1st of January of that year the value of one hundred dollars in specie was one hundred and five dollars in Continental money, and so rapid was the depreciation, that by May, 1779, it took one thousand two hundred and fifteen dollars in paper to represent one hundred dollars in specie.

SUNDAY, MAY 2.

At Middlebrook: "May 2d.—The whole of our army in this quarter was paraded in martial array in a spacious field, and a stage was erected for the accommodation of the ladies and gentlemen spectators. At the signal of thirteen cannon, the great and splendid cavalcade approached in martial pomp and style. A very beautiful troop of light horse, commanded by Major Lee, a Virginian, marched in front, then followed his Excellency the Commander in Chief and his aids de camp, next the foreign ministers and their retinue, and the general officers of our army and their aids, closed the procession. Having arrived on the field of parade, the Commander in Chief, with the foreign ministers, and general officers, passed in front of the line of the army, from right to left, in review, and received the military honors due to their rank; after which the gentlemen dismounted and retired to the stage, and took seats with Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Greene, Mrs. Knox, and a number of other ladies who had arrived in their carriages. The army then performed the field manœuvres and evolutions, with firing of cannon and musketry."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

This review of the army was held in honor of M. Gérard, the French minister, and Don Juan Marailles, a gentleman of distinction from Spain, who had arrived in camp the day previous, the arrival, as recorded by Dr. Thacher, having been announced by thirteen guns. M. Gérard visited the camp in order to consult with General Washington respecting the operations of Count D'Estaing's fleet.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 5.

At Middlebrook: "Enclosed I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency three New York papers. The last



contains extracts from Lord North's speech at opening the budget, which seems to breathe a vigorous prosecution of the war. I have thought appearances for some time past wore this complexion. The English papers have frequently announced considerable reinforcements to the army in America, and have even specified the particular corps intended to be sent over. Nor can I see any sufficient reason to believe this will not be done."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

For some interesting facts respecting Lord North, and extracts from letters written to him by George III. at different times, on American affairs, see *Sparks*, vi. 531.

THURSDAY, MAY 6.

At Middlebrook: Observed as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, recommended by Congress.

SATURDAY, MAY 8.

At Middlebrook: "The rapid decay of our currency, the extinction of public spirit, the increasing rapacity of the times, the want of harmony in our councils, the declining zeal of the people, the discontents and distresses of the officers of the army, and I may add, the prevailing security and insensibility to danger, are symptoms, in my eye, of a most alarming nature. If the enemy have it in their power to press us hard this campaign, I know not what may be the consequence. Our army, as it now stands, is but little more than the skeleton of an army; and I hear of no steps that are taking to give it strength and substance."—*Washington to Gouverneur Morris.*

General Washington expressed himself in a strain similar to the above, in writing to another friend, May 18th. "I never was, and much less reason have I now to be, afraid of the enemy's arms; but I have no scruple in declaring to you, that I have never yet seen the time in which our affairs, in my opinion, were at so low an ebb as at the present; and, without a speedy and capital change, we shall not be able in a very short time to call out the strength and resources of the country. The hour is certainly come, when party disputes and dissensions should subside, when every man, es-

pecially those in office, should with hand and heart pull the same way, and with their whole strength. Providence has done, and I am persuaded is disposed to do, a great deal for us; but we are not to forget the fable of Jupiter and the countryman."

FRIDAY, MAY 14.

At Middlebrook: "May 14th.—Our brigade was paraded for the purpose of being reviewed by General Washington and a number of Indian chiefs. His Excellency, with his usual dignity, followed by his mulatto servant Bill, riding a beautiful grey steed, passed in front of the line and received the salute. He was accompanied by a singular group of savages, whose appearance was beyond description ludicrous."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

TUESDAY, MAY 18.

At Middlebrook: "The obligation I felt for the visit, which your Excellency did me the honor to make me, could only be increased by the manner in which you are pleased to mention the reception you met with."—*Washington to Monsieur Gérard*.

While M. Gérard was in camp, he wrote to Count Vergennes, "I have had many conversations with General Washington, some of which have continued for three hours. It is impossible for me briefly to communicate the fund of intelligence, which I have derived from him, but I shall do it in my letters as occasions shall present themselves. I will now say only, that I have formed as high an opinion of the powers of his mind, his moderation, his patriotism, and his virtues, as I had before from common report conceived of his military talents and of the incalculable services he has rendered to his country."

TUESDAY, MAY 25.

At Middlebrook: "The predatory war, which the enemy now seem resolved to carry on, will be very distressing. Little aid can be afforded from the army in its present situation, and the militia appear too ill provided with arms to defend themselves. How this can be remedied, and the army supplied, I know not."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.



The British had recently sent a detachment of several ships and twenty-five hundred men into the Chesapeake, destroyed a large number of small vessels, sacked the town of Portsmouth, burned Suffolk, and carried on board a large quantity of tobacco and other plunder, and many negroes.

MONDAY, MAY 31.

At Middlebrook: "The expedition you are appointed to command is to be directed against the hostile tribes of the Six Nations of Indians, with their associates and adherents. The immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements, and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible. . . . So soon as your preparations are in sufficient forwardness, you will assemble your main body at Wyoming, and proceed thence to Tioga, taking from that place the most direct and practicable route into the heart of The Indian Settlements."—*Washington to General John Sullivan.*

The atrocities of the Indians of the Six Nations in the Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, and their continual raids upon the frontier settlements in New York, made this expedition a necessity. General Sullivan collected troops at Wyoming, and marched (July 31) up the Susquehanna with about three thousand soldiers to Tioga Point, where he met General James Clinton, who had come from the Mohawk Valley with about sixteen hundred men to join him. On the 29th of August they fell upon some Tories and Indians at Chemung (now Elmira), and then pushed onward to the Genesee River, when the work of destruction began. On October 20, Washington wrote to the Marquis de Lafayette, at Paris, "General Sullivan has completed the entire destruction of the country of the Six Nations; driven all the Inhabitants, men, women, and children, out of it; and is at Easton on his return to join this army, with the Troops under his command. He has performed this service without losing 40 men, either by the enemy or by sickness. While the Six Nations were under this rod of correction, the Mingo and Muncy tribes, living on the Allegany, French Creek, and other waters of the Ohio above Fort Pitt, met with similar chastisement. Colo. Brodhead, who with 600 men advanced upon them at the same Inst., and laid waste their Country."

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2.

At Middlebrook: Receives and answers an address from the "Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the Dutch Reformed Church at Raritan."



## THURSDAY, JUNE 3.

At Middlebrook: "I expect to set out this day towards the Highlands, by way of Morris Town."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

## SUNDAY, JUNE 6.

At Ringwood, New Jersey: "On the 1st instant in the morning, the Enemy opened a Battery at Stony Point, which lies on the West side of the Hudson at the landing at King's Ferry, against a small detached work at Verplanck's Point, on the East side, and kept up a constant fire upon it, in conjunction with their Ships, till four in the afternoon, when the party stationed in it, finding that it was also invested on the land side in force, surrendered by capitulation."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Ringwood, known in the Revolutionary period as Ringwood Iron-Works, is a village in Passaic County, New Jersey, thirty miles northeast of Morristown and close to the New York line.

## MONDAY, JUNE 7.

At Smith's Tavern in the Clove: *Orderly Book*.—"The army is to encamp till further orders."

"June 10th.—Smith's Clove [Orange County, New York] is a fine level plain of rich land, situated at the foot of the high mountains on the west side of Hudson river. It is about fourteen miles in the rear of the garrison at West Point, and surrounded on all sides by the high lands. The few families who reside here find a profitable employment in cultivating the fertile soil. Our brigade marched from quarters at Middlebrook on the 2d instant, and arrived at Morristown, where we received orders to leave all our heavy baggage, and proceed with all possible expedition, as the enemy was advancing towards West Point. Marched rapidly through Troy, Pompton and Ringwood, and on the 7th instant, encamped in the Clove."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

## FRIDAY, JUNE 11.

At Smith's Tavern: "We have taken post for the present with the main body of the army in this Clove, where we are as well situated, as we could be anywhere else, to succor the

forts [on the Hudson] in case the future operations of the enemy should be directed against them."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Smith's Tavern was at the upper end of the Clove. Its location is given in the copy of a contemporary map, published in Lossing's "Life of Washington," vol. ii. 543.

MONDAY, JUNE 14.

At Smith's Tavern: *Orderly Book*.—"As the Commander-in-Chief sits out to-Day for West Point, and may be absent two or three Days, Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Putnam will take the Command of the troops in this Camp till his return."

Washington remained in the Clove until the afternoon of June 21, when he set out for New Windsor, on the Hudson, six miles above West Point. Here he "established his head-quarters in the William Ellison house on the hill immediately south of the village. The house was removed many years ago."\* On the 22d, Washington visited West Point, and on the 24th he was present at the celebration of the festival of St. John the Baptist, by the "American Union Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons," at the "Robinson House," a little below West Point, on the opposite side of the river.

SUNDAY, JUNE 27.

At New Windsor, New York: "Your letter of yesterday came safe to my hands, and by the Dragoon, who was the bearer of it, I send you two guineas for C——r."—*Washington to Major Tullmadge.*

General Washington always had spies in New York. C——r, referred to in this letter, called in a later one Culper, had acted for a long time in that capacity. His intelligence was of great importance.

SUNDAY, JULY 4.

At New Windsor: *Orderly Book*.—"This day being the anniversary of our glorious independence, will be commemorated by the firing of thirteen cannon from West Point at 1 o'clock P.M. The Commander-in-Chief thinks

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\* Ruttenber's "History of Orange County," p. 143.



proper to grant a general pardon to all prisoners in this army, under sentence of death. They are to be released from confinement accordingly."

Washington left head-quarters in the morning of July 6, to visit the out-posts below, and those which had been established by the enemy. He returned in the afternoon of the 7th.

FRIDAY, JULY 9.

At New Windsor: "While the enemy are making excursions to distress the country, it has a very disagreeable aspect to remain in a state of inactivity on our part. The reputation of the army, and the good of the service, seem to exact some attempt from it. The importance of Stony Point to the enemy makes it infinitely desirable, that this post could be the object. The works are formidable, but perhaps on a fuller examination they may be found accessible. . . . I beg you to inform yourself all you can, and to give me your opinion of the practicability of an attempt upon this post. If it is undertaken, I should conceive it ought to be done by way of surprise in the night."—*Washington to General Wayne.*

SATURDAY, JULY 10.

At New Windsor: "I have received your favors from Luddington's and Reading. It gives me great concern to hear of the ravages of the enemy. The conduct of the militia at New Haven does them the highest honor."—*Washington to General Parsons.*

The British, under General Tryon and General Garth, landed near New Haven on the 5th of July, and the next day entered the town, plundered it, and burned the public stores. In approaching the town they were bravely met by the militia, of whom twenty-seven were killed and nineteen wounded.

SUNDAY, JULY 11.

At New Windsor: "I request, that you will endeavour, as far as opportunity will permit, to ascertain as precisely as you can what number of houses they [the enemy] have



destroyed in their expedition up the Sound."—*Washington to General Parsons.*

According to General Parsons' returns in compliance with the above request, the enemy burnt in Fairfield, on the 9th of July, ninety-seven dwelling-houses, sixty-seven barns, forty-eight stores, two meeting-houses, a church, court-house, jail, and two school-houses. In Norwalk, they burnt, on the 11th of July, one hundred and thirty dwelling-houses, eighty-seven barns, twenty-two stores, seventeen shops, four mills, one church, one meeting-house. At New Haven the whole loss amounted to \$112,647; at Fairfield, \$181,366; at Norwalk, \$166,868; at Greenwich, \$29,935.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 14.

At New Windsor: "I have reflected on the advantages and disadvantages of delaying the proposed attempt [on Stony Point], and I do not know but the latter preponderate. You will therefore carry it into execution to-morrow night, as you desire, unless some new motive or better information should induce you to think it best to defer it. You are at liberty to choose between the different plans on which we have conversed."—*Washington to General Wayne.*

THURSDAY, JULY 15.

At Fort Montgomery: "This day General Wayne marched down towards Stony Point, to take a view of the enemy, and, if an opportunity offers, to attempt something serious. I therefore wish you to put your brigade in motion about midnight, and march that way in order to act as his situation may make it necessary."—*Washington to General Muhlenberg.*

"July.—To Expenses in Recon<sup>g</sup> the Enemy's Post at Stony Point previous to the assault of it, & on a visit to it after it was taken . . . £10.10."—*Washington's Accounts.*

FRIDAY, JULY 16.

At New Windsor: *Orderly Book.*—"The Commander-in-Chief is happy to congratulate the army on the success of our arms under Brig. Gen. Wayne, who last night, with the corps of light infantry, surprised and took the enemy's post

at Stony Point, with the whole garrison, cannon and stores, with very inconsiderable loss on our side."

"Stony Point 16<sup>th</sup> July 1779 2 o'clock A.M. Dear Genl—The fort & Garrison with Col<sup>o</sup> Johnston are ours. Our Officers & men behaved like men who are determined to be free.—Yours most sincerely,

"ANT'Y WAYNE."

TUESDAY, JULY 20.

At New Windsor: "They [the enemy] have now brought their whole force up the river, and yesterday they landed a body at Stony Point."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

It having been found that the maintenance of Stony Point would require a large body of men, and from the nature of the works, which had been constructed solely against an attack by land, it was decided to destroy them, remove the cannon and stores, and evacuate the post. This was accordingly done on the night of July 18.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 21.

At West Point: Washington made West Point his head-quarters on the 21st of July, and remained there till November 28, when the army went into winter-quarters. It was during this period that the strong works at this fortress and its vicinity were chiefly constructed.

The house occupied by Washington as head-quarters was situated in what is now called Washington's Valley, about a mile to the north of West Point. It was designated in general orders as "Moore's House," and was built prior to 1749 by John Moore, a prominent merchant of New York, and grandfather of the celebrated Bishop of Virginia, Richard Channing Moore. The house must have been a large and costly structure, being known in its day as "Moore's Folly," and is so marked on a plan of "*Hudson's-River from New-York to Albany*," included in Blodget's "Prospective Plan of the Battle fought near LAKE GEORGE on the 8<sup>th</sup> of September 1755," published at Boston in December of that year. The property, containing about eighteen hundred acres, which included West Point, was sold to the United States, in 1790, by Stephen Moore, a son of John Moore.

THURSDAY, JULY 29.

At West Point: "I have a pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your obliging favor of the 15th inst, and in find-

ing by it, that the author of the *Queries*, '*Political and Military*' \* has had no great cause to exult in the favorable reception of them by the public. Without a clue, I should have been at no great loss to trace the malevolent writer." — *Washington to Joseph Reed.*

"Many and pointed orders have been issued against the unmeaning and abominable custom of swearing; notwithstanding which, with much regret, the General observes that it prevails, *if possible*, more than ever. His feelings are continually wounded by the oaths and imprecations of the soldiers whenever he is in hearing of them. The name of that Being from whose bountiful goodness we are permitted to exist and enjoy the comforts of life, is incessantly imprecated and profaned in a manner as wanton as it is shocking. For the sake therefore of religion, decency, and order, the General hopes and trusts that officers of every rank will use their influence and authority to check a vice which is as unprofitable as it is wicked and shameful. If officers would make it an invariable rule to reprimand, and if that does not do, punish soldiers for offences of this kind, it could not fail of having the desired effect."—*Orderly Book*, July 29.

#### FRIDAY, JULY 30.

At West Point: "Lord Cornwallis is undoubtedly arrived [from England] and I have information, which bears all the marks of authenticity, that Admiral Arbuthnot, with the grand fleet, left Torbay the 26th of May, as it is said, with seven thousand troops, Hessians and British, for America." — *Washington to General Wayne.*

Lord Cornwallis went to England in December, 1778, on account of the severe illness of his wife, who died soon afterward.

#### SUNDAY, AUGUST 1.

At West Point: "From what causes it proceeds I shall

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\* These "Queries" were written by General Charles Lee, and printed anonymously in the *Maryland Journal*, a paper published by William Goddard, a friend of General Lee. The "Queries" were penned in a very malignant spirit, and were designed to injure General Washington, as far as it could be done by such an effusion of spleen and ill temper. Much indignation was expressed against Goddard when the "Queries" appeared in his paper.



not undertake to say, but so the fact is, that we are laboring under the effects of two of the greatest evils, that can befall a state of war, namely, a reduced army at the beginning of a campaign, which more than probably is intended for a decisive one, and want of money, or rather a redundancy of it, by which it is become of no value."—*Washington to Edmund Randolph.*

MONDAY, AUGUST 23.

At West Point: "I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency Major Lee's report of the surprise & capture [August 19] of the garrison of Powles Hook [Jersey City]. The Major displayed a remarkable degree of prudence, address, enterprise, and bravery, upon this occasion, which does the highest honor to himself and to all the officers and men under his command."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

At West Point: "Admiral Arbuthnot, with about 3 or 4000 troops, is arrived at New York [August 25], and will, it is to be presumed, afford Sir Henry Clinton an opportunity of displaying his intentions or orders. I every moment look for the Chevalier de la Luzerne on his way from Boston to Congress."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette, at Paris.*

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30.

At West Point: "I have had great pleasure in the visit, which the Chevalier de la Luzerne and Monsieur Marbois did me the honor to make at this camp; for both of whom I have imbibed the most favorable impressions, and I thank you for the honorable mention you made of me to them. . . . The operations of the enemy this campaign have been confined to the establishment of works of defence, taking a post at King's Ferry, and burning the defenceless towns of New Haven, Fairfield, and Norwalk, on the Sound within reach of their shipping, where little else was or could be

opposed to them, than the cries of distressed women and helpless children; but these were offered in vain."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette*, at Paris.

The Chevalier de la Luzerne succeeded M. Gérard as minister from France to the United States. He came to America in the same vessel ("La Sensible") with John Adams, when the latter returned from his first mission to France, landing at Boston, August 2, 1779. The visit to Washington at West Point was made in a private capacity, when on his way to Philadelphia to exhibit his credentials to Congress. During the four years in which he acted as minister, M. de la Luzerne "conducted himself with a prudence, wisdom, and concern for their interests, that gained him the esteem and affection of the Americans." M. Marbois, who accompanied him as secretary of legation, remained in this country until 1785, and after the return of Luzerne acted as *chargé d'affaires*. In 1803 he was appointed to cede Louisiana to the United States for fifty million francs, but had the skill to obtain eighty millions, a piece of diplomacy for which he was liberally rewarded by Napoleon.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2.

At West Point: *Orderly Book*.—"The following are the Uniforms that have been determined for the troops of these States respectively as soon as the state of the public supplies will permit their being furnished accordingly, and in the meantime it is recommended to the Officers to endeavor to accommodate their Uniforms to this Standard, that when the men come to be supplied there may be a proper uniformity.

"*New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut*—Blue faced with White, Buttons and Lining White.

"*New York, New Jersey*—Blue faced with Buff, White Lining and Buttons.

"*Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia*—Blue faced with Red, Buttons and Linings White.

"*North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia*—Blue faced with Blue, Button-holes edged with narrow white lace or tape, Buttons and Linings White.

"*Artillery and Artillery Artificers*—Blue faced with Scarlet; Scarlet Lining, Yellow buttons, Yellow bound hats, Coats



edged with narrow lace or tape & button-holes bound with the same.

"*Light Dragoons*—The whole Blue faced with White, White buttons and linings."

#### THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7.

At West Point: "Permit me, amongst the number of your friends, to congratulate you and my country on your late honorable and important appointment."—*Washington to John Jay.*

Mr. Jay was appointed, on the 27th of September, minister plenipotentiary to Spain, to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce, and to obtain loans or subsidies. He sailed from Chester, below Philadelphia, October 26, but, being driven to the West Indies by a storm, did not reach Cadiz until January 22, 1780. Spain, not having acknowledged the independence of the United States, at first refused to receive him as an American minister, and he was for some time engaged with Count Florida Blanca, the Spanish premier, in informal negotiations. After many months of fruitless labor, Mr. Jay, having been appointed a commissioner, proceeded to Paris (June, 1782), and, with Adams, Franklin, and Laurens, signed the preliminary articles of peace between the United States and Great Britain, November 30, 1782.

#### THURSDAY, OCTOBER 21.

At West Point: "In a letter of the 15th instant from General Gates, he writes to me, 'My intelligence from all quarters and reports from all stations, announce that the enemy are preparing to evacuate Newport. Monday or Tuesday it is imagined they will take their departure.'"  
—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

The evacuation of Newport took place on the 25th of October. Sir Henry Clinton wrote to Lord George Germain that the troops from Rhode Island arrived on the 27th, the evacuation having been executed without sacrifice or molestation from the enemy.

#### MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1.

At West Point: "Stony Point, which has been a bone of contention the whole campaign, and the principal busi-



ness of it on the part of the enemy, is totally evacuated by them. Rhode Island is also abandoned, and the enemy's whole force is drawn to a point at New York."—*Washington to Edmund Pendleton.*

Stony Point and Verplanck's Point had been at first taken by the British with a view to offensive operations against Washington's army. When such a movement was found impracticable, and a Southern expedition was resolved upon, it was determined to evacuate these posts.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 11.

At West Point: "Being absent from Head-Qrs. on a visit to several out-posts of the army, when your favor of the 2d instant arrived, and not returning till last night, it was not in my power to answer it before."—*Washington to General Duportail.*

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 16.

At West Point: "Whereas by the sudden movement of the Army to winter quarters it will be difficult to procure the necessary supplies of Forage, which by your representation cannot be furnished unless you are authorized to impress the same, therefore you are hereby authorized where Forage & pasture cannot otherwise be procured, by yourself or Assistants & Forage masters to impress the necessary Forage for the Army on the march of the Army through the State of New York and New Jersey to their winter Stations, when this warrant is to cease, and you are to pay particular attention to have the Inhabitants satisfied for their Forage & to take as equally as possible from each according to what can be spared."—*Washington to Clement Biddle, Commissary-General of Forage, MS. Letter.*

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 24.

At West Point: "I am now using my best endeavours to get things in train for putting the army in quarters. The instant matters will permit, I shall go forward myself."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

## MONDAY, NOVEMBER 29.

At Peekskill, New York: "I am now thus far on my way to Jersey, and I shall put the Virginia Troops in motion, as soon as it can be done, for Philadelphia."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"November 30.—Early in the morning Gen. Washington crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry, into the Jerseys."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

## TUESDAY, DECEMBER 7.

At Morristown, New Jersey: "We have taken up our quarters at this place for the winter. The main army lies within three or four miles of the town."—*Washington to Governor Livingston.*

Washington's head-quarters at Morristown (where he arrived December 1) were at the residence of the widow of Colonel Jacob Ford, who had commanded a regiment of Morris County militia during the retreat through New Jersey in 1776. The house, which is still standing, is situated on Morris Avenue (formerly the Newark and Morristown turnpike), about half a mile northeast of the public square. It is now in possession of the "Washington Association of New Jersey," incorporated March 20, 1874, for the purpose of maintaining it "through future generations sacred with its peculiar historic associations."

## THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16.

At Morristown: "The situation of the Army with respect to supplies, is beyond description, alarming. It has been five or six weeks past on half-allowance, and we have not more than three days bread at a third allowance, on hand, nor any where within reach. When this is exhausted, we must depend on the precarious gleanings of the neighboring country. Our magazines are absolutely empty every where, and our commissaries entirely destitute of money or credit to replenish them. We have never experienced a like extremity at any period of the war. We have often felt temporary want from accidental delays in forwarding supplies, but we always had something in our magazines, and the means of procuring more. Neither one nor the

other is, at present, the case. This representation is the result of a minute examination of our resources."—*Washington to Joseph Reed.*

**MONDAY, DECEMBER 27.**

At Morristown: Present at the celebration of the festival of St. John the Evangelist by the "American Union Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons."

"In the Morris Hotel, a building then used as a commissary's storehouse, the chief often participated in the rites of Free-masonry, in a room over the bar, which was reserved for a ball-room and for the meetings of the Masonic Lodge."—*Loessing's Field-Book*, i. 307.



1780.

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 8.

At Morristown: "The present situation of the army with respect to provisions, is the most distressing of any we have experienced since the beginning of the war. For a fortnight past the troops, both officers and men, have been almost perishing for want. They have been alternately without bread or meat the whole time, with a very scanty allowance of either and frequently destitute of both."—*Washington to the Magistrates of New Jersey.*

"January, 1780.—The weather for several days has been remarkably cold and stormy. On the 3d instant, we experienced one of the most tremendous snow-storms ever remembered; no man could endure its violence many minutes without danger of his life. Several marquees were torn asunder and blown down over the officers' heads in the night, and some of the soldiers were actually covered while in their tents, and buried like sheep under the snow. . . . The snow is now from four to six feet deep, which so obstructs the roads as to prevent our receiving a supply of provisions. For the last ten days we have received but two pounds of meat a man, and we are frequently for six or eight days entirely destitute of meat, and then as long without bread. The consequence is, the soldiers are so enfeebled from hunger and cold, as to be almost unable to perform their military duty, or labor in constructing their huts."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

SUNDAY, JANUARY 9.

At Morristown: "Circumstanced as things are—men half-starved—imperfectly cloathed—riotous—and robbing the Country people of their subsistence from sheer necessity I think it scarcely possible to embrace any moment however favourable in other respects for visiting the enemy on Staten Island, and yet if this frost should have made a firm and solid bridge between them and us I should be unwilling

—indeed I cannot relinquish the idea of attempting it.”—*Washington to General Irvine.*

MONDAY, JANUARY 10.

At Morristown: “I have determined in case the present condition of the Ice and prospect of its continuance will warrant the enterprise, to make an attempt upon the enemy’s quarters and posts on Staten Island.”—*Washington to General Irvine, MS. Letter.*

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 12.

At Morristown: “Friday Evening is determined upon for the execution of the intended enterprise, unless prevented by the intervention of Weather or some unforeseen accident.”—*Washington to General Irvine.*

“January 17th.—A detachment consisting of about two thousand five hundred men, under the command of Major-General Lord Stirling, was a few days since sent off in about five hundred sleighs on a secret expedition. The sleighs were procured and preparations made, under the pretence of going into the country after provisions. It is now ascertained that the object of the expedition was to attack the enemy in their works on Staten Island by surprize. Our party passed over on the ice from Elizabethtown in the night (January 14), but the enemy having received intelligence of their design, retired into their strong works for safety, and the object of the enterprize was unfortunately defeated; they, however, brought off a quantity of blankets and stores. The snow was three or four feet deep, and the weather extremely cold, and our troops continued on the island twenty-four hours without covering, and about five hundred were slightly frozen and six were killed by a party of horse, who pursued our rear guard. A number of tents, arms, and a quantity of baggage, with several casks of wine and spirits, were brought off, with seventeen prisoners.”—*Thacher’s Military Journal.*

SATURDAY, JANUARY 22.

At Morristown: “I have been at my prest. quarters since day of Decr. and have not a Kitchen to cook a altho’ the Logs have been put together some come by my own Guard. Nor is there a place at in which a servant can lodge, with the smallest



degree of comfort. Eighteen belonging to my family, and all Mrs. Ford's, are crowded together in her Kitchen, and scarce one of them able to speak for the colds they have caught."—*Washington to General Greene.*

THURSDAY, JANUARY 27.

At Morristown: "You will be pleased to repair to our lines and investigate the causes of the late misfortune and disgrace at Elizabeth Town, and report your opinion thereupon, as soon as inquiry is made."—*Washington to General St. Clair.*

A detachment of British troops commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Bushkirk, crossed over from Staten Island at Trembly's Point, and entered Elizabethtown between eleven and twelve o'clock in the night of the 25th of January. It consisted of one hundred dragoons, and between three and four hundred infantry. They took several prisoners, burnt the meeting-house, town-house, and another building, plundered some of the inhabitants, and retired without loss.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 29.

At Morristown: "With respect to provision, the situation of the army is comfortable at present on this head, and I ardently pray, that it may never be again as it has been of late. We were reduced to a most painful and delicate extremity; such as rendered the keeping of the troops together a point of great doubt. The exertions of the magistrates and inhabitants of this State were great and cheerful for our relief."—*Washington to Elbridge Gerry.*

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 4.

At Morristown: "I thank your Excellency for the agreeable intelligence you gave me of his Most Christian Majesty's intentions to send over succors of arms and ammunition. It is a new and valuable proof of his friendship, and will be of essential utility."—*Washington to the Chevalier de la Luzerne.*

"February 14th.—Having continued to this late season in our tents, experiencing the greatest inconvenience, we have now the satisfaction of taking



possession of the log huts, just completed by our soldiers, where we shall have more comfortable accommodations."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 15.**

At Morristown: "I am much indebted to your Excellency for announcing my election as a member of the [American] Philosophical Society. I feel myself particularly honored by this relation to a society, whose successful efforts for promoting useful knowledge have already justly acquired for them the highest reputation in the literary world."—*Washington to Joseph Reed.*

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 29.**

At Morristown: "We have opened an assembly at Camp. From this apparent ease, I suppose it is thought we must be in happy circumstances. I wish it was so, but, alas, it is not. Our provisions are in a manner, gone. We have not a ton of hay at command, nor magazine to draw from. Money is extremely scarce, and worth little when we get it. We have been so poor in camp for a fortnight, that we could not forward the public despatches, for want of cash to support the expresses."—*General Greene to Joseph Reed.*

An engraved fac-simile of the original subscription paper for these assemblies will be found in Smith and Watson's "Historical and Literary Curiosities," published at Philadelphia in 1847. It is as follows: "The Subscribers agree to pay the sums annexed to their respective Names, and an equal quota of any further Expence which may be incurred in the promotion and support of a dancing assembly to be held in Morristown this present Winter 1780. Subscription Monies to be paid into the hands of a Treasurer, hereafter to be appointed." The subscribers, thirty-five in number, include Washington, whose name heads the list, and opposite to each name is set the amount of subscription, four hundred dollars, about eleven dollars in specie.

**SATURDAY, MARCH 18.**

At Morristown: "The oldest people now living in this country do not remember so hard a winter as the one we are now emerging from. In a word, the severity of the

frost exceeded anything of the kind that had ever been experienced in this climate before."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette, at Paris.*

"*March, 1780.*—The present winter is the most severe and distressing, which we have ever experienced. An immense body of snow remains on the ground. Our soldiers are in a wretched condition for the want of clothes, blankets and shoes; and these calamitous circumstances are accompanied by a want of provisions. It has several times happened that the troops were reduced to one-half, or to one-quarter allowance, and some days have passed without any meat or bread being delivered. The causes assigned for these extraordinary deficiencies, are the very low state of the public finances, in consequence of the rapid depreciation of the continental currency, and some irregularity in the commissary's department. Our soldiers, in general, support their sufferings with commendable firmness, but it is feared that their patience will be exhausted, and very serious consequences ensue."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

#### SUNDAY, APRIL 2.

At Morristown: "I have received intelligence, which seems to place it beyond doubt, that the Enemy are about to make a further embarkation of Troops from New York, and the common opinion is, that they are going to reinforce Sir Henry Clinton."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

The first embarkation of troops for the invasion of South Carolina, amounting to between five and six thousand men, left Sandy Hook, December 26, 1779, under convoy of five ships of the line and several frigates, commanded by Admiral Arbuthnot. General Clinton and Lord Cornwallis went with them. The second detachment, referred to above, consisting of twenty-five hundred men, sailed from New York, April 7.

#### WEDNESDAY, APRIL 19.

At Morristown: "*April 19.*—The Chevalier de la Luzerne, Minister of France, with another French gentleman, and Don Juan de Miralles, a gentleman of distinction from Spain, arrived at headquarters from Philadelphia, in company with his Excellency General Washington. . . . General Washington accompanied his illustrious visitors to take a distant view of the enemy's position and works on York and Staten island, and of the different posts of our army,

while preparations were making for a grand field review of our troops."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

In giving an account to M. de Vergennes of his visit to camp, M. de la Luzerne said, "The time which I passed with General Washington has convinced me more than ever of the very great advantage which the republic derives from his services. His virtues have gained for him the affection of the army which he commands, and the confidence and respect of the generals and other officers."

MONDAY, APRIL 24.

At Morristown: "April 24th.—A field of parade being prepared under the direction of the Baron Steuben, four battalions of our army were presented for review, by the French minister, attended by his Excellency and our general officers. Thirteen cannon, as usual, announced their arrival in the field, and they received from the officers and soldiers the military honors due to their exalted rank. . . . In the evening, General Washington and the French minister, attended a ball [at the Morris Hotel] provided by our principal officers, at which were present a numerous collection of ladies and gentlemen of distinguished character. . . . On the 25th, the whole army was paraded under arms, to afford M. de la Luzerne another opportunity of reviewing the troops, after which he was escorted part of the way to Philadelphia. The Spanish gentleman remained dangerously sick of a pulmonic fever at head quarters, and on the 28th he expired."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

SATURDAY, APRIL 29.

At Morristown: "The Remains of Don Juan de Miralles are to be inter'd this afternoon at Morris Town. The funeral procession will move from Head Quarters between 4 and 5 o'clock. It is His Excellency's desire that all the Officers who can attend consistent with the safety and police of the Camp should be invited to the funeral—as he wishes to show all possible respect to the memory of a very respec-



table subject of the King of Spain."—*Colonel Scammell to General Irvine, MS. Letter.*

"April 29th—I accompanied Doctor Schuyler to head quarters, to attend the funeral of M. de Miralles. The deceased was a gentleman of high rank in Spain, and had been about one year a resident with our Congress, from the Spanish Court. The corpse was dressed in rich state, and exposed to public view, as is customary in Europe. . . . His Excellency General Washington, with several other general officers, and members of Congress, attended the funeral solemnities, and walked as chief mourners. The other officers of the army, and numerous respectable citizens, formed a splendid procession, extending about one mile."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

#### SUNDAY, APRIL 30.

At Morristown: "I am extremely sorry to communicate to your Excellency, the painful intelligence of the death of Don Juan de Miralles. This unfortunate event happened at my quarters the day before yesterday, and his remains were yesterday interred with all the respect due to his character and merit."—*Washington to Don Diego Navarro, Governor of Cuba.*

Don Juan de Marailles was supposed to be an unofficial agent of the Spanish government, but had no instructions directly from the court. Congress showed every mark of respect to this agent which was due to his personal character, but carefully avoided treating with him in any public capacity, except through the intervention of the French minister.

#### TUESDAY, MAY 9.

At Morristown: "Our brigade was paraded for inspection and review by Baron Steuben, in the presence of his Excellency General Washington. The troops appeared to much advantage, and the officers received the thanks of the Baron for the military and soldierly appearance of the men."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

#### SUNDAY, MAY 14.

At Morristown: "The arrival of the Marquis de Lafayette opens a prospect, which offers the most important advantages to these States, if proper measures are adopted

to improve it. He announces an intention of his court to send a fleet and army to coöperate effectually with us."—*Washington to James Duane.*

The Marquis de Lafayette sailed from Boston January 11, 1779, in the new American frigate "Alliance," and arrived at Paris February 12. He took much pains in laying before Count de Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs, a clear and correct statement of the situation of the United States, and on his own responsibility urged him to send a land force as well as a fleet to co-operate with Washington's army. These views were supported by D'Estaing, who had returned to France, and they were adopted by the ministry in sending out the auxiliary force of six thousand men under Count de Rochambeau, which arrived at Rhode Island July 10, 1780. Lafayette sailed from Rochelle, in the French frigate "Hermione," March 19, and arrived in Boston harbor April 27. He at once informed Washington that he had affairs of the utmost importance which he should, at first, communicate to him alone, and on the 2d of May set out for head-quarters, which he reached on the 10th.

#### MONDAY, MAY 29.

At Morristown: "May 29th—Four battalions of our troops were paraded for review by the committee of Congress, in the presence of General Washington; they were duly honored with the military salute."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

The committee of Congress, consisting of Philip Schuyler, John Mathews, and Nathaniel Peabody, had been instructed to proceed to head-quarters, and, in conjunction with the Commander-in-Chief, to effect such reforms and changes in all the departments of the army as its condition required. In a report, which they made to Congress soon after their arrival, the committee represented "that the army was five months unpaid; that it seldom had more than six days provisions in advance, and was on several occasions, for sundry successive days, without meat; that the army was destitute of forage; that the medical department had neither sugar, tea, chocolate, wine, nor spirits; and that every department was without money, or even the shadow of credit."

#### THURSDAY, JUNE 1.

At Morristown: "We have received advice from New York, published by authority, of the surrender of Charleston. As I dare say you will have seen the hand-bill, and,

as I am pressed for time, I shall not go into particulars.”—  
*Washington to General Robert Howe.*

The surrender of Charleston to Sir Henry Clinton, with the garrison, commanded by Major-General Lincoln, took place on the 12th of May. It remained in the possession of the British until December 14, 1782. Clinton sailed from Charleston, with Admiral Arbuthnot, on the 5th of June, leaving Cornwallis in chief command of the British troops at the South. He arrived at New York June 17.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7.

At Springfield, New Jersey: The enemy having landed on the night of June 6 at Elizabethtown Point, and advanced the next morning to within half a mile of Springfield, Washington put the army in motion and reached the Short Hills, or heights of Springfield, ten miles southeast of Morristown, in the afternoon of the 7th. After some skirmishing, the enemy retired in the night to Elizabethtown Point. It was on this occasion that Mrs. Caldwell, the wife of the Rev. James Caldwell, was shot by a British soldier while sitting in her house, at Connecticut Farms, in the midst of her children.

SUNDAY, JUNE 18.

At Springfield: *Orderly Book.*—“As it is at all times of great importance both for the sake of appearance and for the regularity of service that the different military Ranks should be distinguished from each other and more especially at present,

“The Commander in Chief has thought proper to establish the following distinctions and strongly recommends it to all the Officers to endeavor to Conform to them as speedily as possible.

“The Major General to wear a blue coat with Buff facings and lining—yellow buttons—white or buff undercloaths two Epaulets, with two Stars upon each and a black and white Feather in the Hat.

“The Brigadier Generals the same uniform as the Major



Generals with the difference of one Star instead of two and a white feather.

"The Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels and Majors the uniforms of their regiments \* and two Epaulettes.

"The Captains; the uniforms of their regiments and an Epulette on the right shoulder.

"The Subalterns,—the uniform of their regiment and an Epulette on the left shoulder."

TUESDAY, JUNE 20.

At Springfield: "In a struggle like ours—perplexed with embarrassments—if it should be my fortune to conduct the Military helm in such a manner as to merit the approbation of good men and my suffering fellow Citizens it will be the primary happiness of my life because it is the first & great object of my wishes."—*Washington to Robert Morris.*

Washington remained at Springfield until June 21, when, suspecting a design against West Point, the army commenced moving slowly to the North River, arriving the following day at Rockaway Bridge, about eleven miles north of Morristown. On the 23d, the enemy having advanced in force from Elizabethtown, the army moved back five or six miles, to be more in supporting distance. After burning the village of Springfield, the British retired the same day to their former position, and in the night crossed over to Staten Island, and took up their bridge.

SUNDAY, JUNE 25.

At Whippany, New Jersey: "On receiving intelligence of the Enemy's withdrawing from the Point, all the Troops were put under marching orders for the North River; but the weather prevented them from commencing their march before this morning."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

TUESDAY, JUNE 27.

At Ramapo, New Jersey: "Before this time, the Connecticut division will probably have joined you [at West

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\* For the General Order prescribing the uniforms for the troops of the different States, see page 166.

Point]. The rest of the army arrived here yesterday. The delay, which has occurred, makes it probable, that the enemy either had not any intention, or have relinquished the project, of attacking West Point."—*Washington to General Robert Howe.*

Ramapo was a small settlement on the Ramapo River in Bergen County, New Jersey, about five miles south of the present Suffern's Station on the New York and Erie Railway, and nearly seven miles below the present village of Ramapo, in New York. Washington remained at Ramapo until July 1, when he made his head-quarters at Preakness, about five miles northwest of Passaic Falls (now in the city of Paterson), occupying the house of Colonel Theunis Dey, until the 29th, when the army left for the North River. The "Dey House" is still standing, and "a century ago, must have been one of the finest in New Jersey, for it is yet remarkable for its architectural symmetry and the artistic finish of the masonry."\*

#### TUESDAY, JULY 4.

At Preakness, New Jersey: "We are in hourly expectation of a considerable French land and sea force, which is intended to coöperate with us against the common enemy. We are for this purpose endeavouring to draw out a competent reinforcement of men and supplies to enable us, in conjunction with our allies, to strike decisively at the Enemy. I fear we shall notwithstanding the emergency of the occasion fall very short of the number of men required."—*Washington to Colonel Daniel Brodhead, at Fort Pitt, MS. Letter.*

#### THURSDAY, JULY 6.

At Preakness: "I give it decisively as my opinion—that unless the States will content themselves with a full and well-chosen representation in Congress and vest that body with absolute powers in all matters relative to the great purposes of war, and of general concern (by which the States unitedly are affected, reserving to themselves all

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\* "Washington's Headquarters at Preakness," by William Nelson, *Magazine of American History*, iii. 490.



matters of local and internal polity for the regulation of order and good government) we are attempting an impossibility, and very soon shall become (if it is not already the case) a many-headed monster—a heterogeneous mass—that never will or can steer to the same point.”—*Washington to Fielding Lewis.*

FRIDAY, JULY 14.

At Preakness: “I have the honor to inform Congress, that I have this moment received a letter from Major General Heath, dated Providence on the 11th, informing that the afternoon of the 10th the French fleet arrived off Newport, that the signals of recognizance had been made, and the fleet was standing into the harbor when the express came away.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

SUNDAY, JULY 16.

At Preakness: “I hasten to impart to you the happiness I feel at the welcome news of your arrival; and, as well in the name of the American army, as in my own, to present you with an assurance of our warmest sentiments for allies, who have so generously come to our aid. As a citizen of the United States, and as a soldier in the cause of liberty, I thankfully acknowledge this new mark of friendship from his Most Christian Majesty, and I feel a most grateful sensibility for the flattering confidence he has been pleased to honor me with on this occasion.”—*Washington to the Count de Rochambeau.*

As soon as the Count de Rochambeau arrived at Newport, he wrote to General Washington, and enclosed a copy of his instructions from the King and an account of his voyage.

WEDNESDAY JULY 19.

At Preakness: “By despatches received last evening from the Count de Rochambeau, I am informed, that the French Fleet and Army, consisting of eight Ships of the Line, two Frigates, and two Bombs, and upwards of five thousand



men, have arrived at Newport."—*Washington to General Greene*.

"The Commander-in-chief has the pleasure to congratulate the army on the arrival of a large land and naval armament at Rhode Island, sent by his Most Christian Majesty to coöperate with the troops of these States against the common enemy, accompanied with every circumstance that can render it honorable and useful."—*Orderly Book*, July 20.

#### SUNDAY, JULY 23.

At Preakness: "July 23d.—Sunday I attended a sermon preached by Mr. Blair, chaplain of the artillery. The troops were paraded in the open field, the sermon was well calculated to inculcate religious principles, and the moral virtues. His Excellency General Washington, Major Generals Greene and Knox, with a number of other officers were present."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

#### MONDAY, JULY 24.

At Preakness: "The intelligence I have received from different quarters is of the same nature as that of yours, and speaks of an embarkation destined against our allies at Rhode Island."—*Washington to General Robert Howe*.

#### THURSDAY, JULY 27.

At Preakness: "Mr. Clinton still continues to threaten your countrymen with a combined attack. You will judge, as well as I, of the probability of his being sincere; but I have put the troops here under marching orders, and I have ordered those at West Point to King's Ferry. If Clinton moves in force to Rhode Island, we may possibly be able to take advantage of it."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette*.

"According to orders, our brigade marched from Prackanes [Preakness] on the 29th of July, and encamped at Paramus at night, fifteen miles. The men were exceedingly affected with the heat and fatigue. We marched on the succeeding day at two o'clock in the morning. . . . We arrived at the North river and crossed the ferry [King's Ferry], August 1st, where we

found the whole of our army collecting to a point."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

MONDAY, JULY 31.

At the "Robinson House": "I arrived here last night; having met your favours of the 25th & 26th at Paramus [July 29], where the army then lay. Immediately upon hearing that the transports, with the troops, which had been some days on board, had sailed Eastward, I put the army in motion again, They will cross the Ferry to-day, and will be joined by the troops from hence. I propose moving as rapidly as possible down towards Kingsbridge, which will either oblige the enemy to abandon their project against Rhode Island, or may afford us an opportunity of striking them to advantage in this quarter."—*Washington to General Heath.*

The "Robinson House," a little below West Point, on the opposite side of the river, was, at the beginning of the war, the country residence of Colonel Beverly Robinson, who married a daughter of Frederick Phillipse, the owner of an immense landed estate on the Hudson. Robinson was a Virginian by birth, the son of John Robinson, President of the Council of Virginia in 1734, and afterwards Speaker of the House of Burgesses. Though opposed to the measures which led to the separation of the colonies from the mother-country, he took sides with the loyalists when independence was declared. The house is still standing, and possesses considerable historical interest as having been the head-quarters of Arnold at the time he commanded at West Point, and was maturing his plans to surrender that post to the British.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 1.

At Peekskill, New York: "We are thus far, my dear Marquis, on our way to New York. To-morrow the whole army was to have taken up its line of march, and would have moved with all the rapidity in our power to this object, had we not a few hours since received advice from the Sound, dated yesterday, that the fleet of transports [of the enemy] had put back, and were steering Westward."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*



"Within Peekskill village, opposite the West Chester County Bank, is the old Birdsall residence, a part of which is a grocery store. This building was erected by Daniel Birdsall, one of the founders of the village. It was occupied by Washington when the headquarters of the army were there."—*Lossing's Field-Book*, i. 737.

#### THURSDAY, AUGUST 3.

At Peekskill: "You are to proceed to West Point, and take the command of that post and its dependencies, in which all are included from Fishkill to King's Ferry."—*Washington to General Arnold*.

"It is now ascertained, August 4th, that the formidable manœuvre of our army has effected the object intended. The enemy's expedition to Rhode Island has returned to New York, in consequence probably of the alarm excited for the safety of that city. Orders are now received, for our army to recross the Hudson to the Jersey shore."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

#### SATURDAY, AUGUST 5.

At Peekskill: "In consequence of his [Clinton's] return, the army is recrossing the River and will proceed to Dobbs' Ferry, about ten miles from Kingsbridge, where we intend to establish a communication that will save us considerable land transportation, in case New York is our eventual object."—*Washington to the Count de Rochambeau*.

"August 5th, 1780.—At 4 o'clock in the morning the whole army marched by the right, the Infantry in front, and recrossed the river and marched 4 miles on the road towards Kakeat and encamped for the night. . August 6th.—Continued on the same ground. . August 7th.—We marched at 2 o'clock in the morning and halted near Clarkstown, and encamped for the night. . August 8th.—We marched at 2 o'clock in the morning, by the right and encamped in the neighborhood of Tappan—a most excellent country, inhabited chiefly with Low-Dutch."—*MS. Diary of Captain Joseph McClellan, Pennsylvania Line*.

#### TUESDAY, AUGUST 8.

At Tappan, New York: "We are now going, agreeably to my original design, to establish as soon as possible a communication for the present across the river at Dobbs' Ferry, in order to aid our land transportation and facilitate our supplies of bread."—*Washington to General Heath*.



Tappan, or Orangetown, as it was more often called during the Revolutionary period, then in Orange (now Rockland) County, New York, was about two miles from the western landing at Dobbs' Ferry, and close to the New Jersey line. While at Tappan, Washington made his head-quarters at the De Wint house, a low one-story brick and stone dwelling, which is still standing; here he remained until the 23d of August, when the army moved to Bergen County, New Jersey.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 11.

At Tappan: "We shall have occasion to throw up some small works at Dobbs' Ferry, to secure the intended communication at that place; and, in order that we may be enabled to finish them in the most expeditious manner, you will be pleased to order sixty of Colonel Baldwin's Artificers to come immediately down here."—*Washington to General Arnold.*

THURSDAY, AUGUST 24.

At Teaneck, New Jersey: "You are appointed to the command of the Light Infantry, and four brigades from your own wing, to be employed upon a forage down to Bergen, and from thence up to the English neighborhood."—*Washington to General Greene.*

On the morning of the 23d of August, the army broke camp at Tappan and moved ten miles lower down to *Teaneck*, a ridge of land running north and south, about two miles back of the Palisades, Bergen County, New Jersey. Washington's head-quarters were at the "Liberty Pole Tavern," which stood on ground now intersected by Palisade Avenue, near the centre of the present village of Englewood. On the 4th of September, the army marched to *Steenrapië*, three miles northwest of Hackensack, and went into camp, remaining until the 20th, when it returned to Tappan.

An interesting incident of this encampment is recorded by Captain Joseph McClellan in his diary, previously quoted from: "*September 19.*—This afternoon each officer of the Light Infantry received an elegant small sword as a present from the Marquis De La Fayette."

MONDAY, AUGUST 28.

At Teaneck: "The intelligence brought by the Alliance, of the second Division [of French troops] being blocked up in Brest by thirty-two British ships of the line, has made a

material change in the prospects of the Campaign. This, and the extreme distress of our Magazines, have determined me to dismiss all the Militia in service, except such part as was wanted for immediate purposes."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

The frigate "Alliance" arrived at Boston from L'Orient on the 16th of August. She had on board two thousand stands of arms, several cannon, and a quantity of powder for the American army.

#### WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6.

At the "Hopper House," Bergen County, New Jersey: A council of war, in which it was decided that it was not advisable to make any attempt against New York till the second French division should arrive, or till there should be a naval superiority to co-operate with the movements on land.

When the army went into camp at *Steenrapie*, on September 4, Washington made his head-quarters at the "Hopper House," on the road to Morristown, about two miles from the New York line, and four miles south of the Ramapo Pass. It was here that he received (September 5) the news of the defeat of General Gates at the disastrous battle near Camden, South Carolina, on the 16th of August; and from hence he set out on his journey to Hartford, on Monday, the 18th of September, to meet Count de Rochambeau and Admiral de Ternay, in conference.

#### FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8.

At the "Hopper House": "If convenient to you, I have the honor to propose the 20th instant for our interview at Hartford, where I hope we shall be able to combine some plan of future operation, which events will enable us to execute. . . . The Marquis de la Fayette and the Commandant of Artillery & Engineers [M. de Gouvion] will accompany me."—*Washington to the Count de Rochambeau.*

#### SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 10.

At Hackensack: In attendance at the funeral of Brigadier-General Enoch Poor. "The corpse was followed by

the officers of the New Hampshire brigade; the officers of the brigade of light infantry, which the deceased had lately commanded. Other officers fell in promiscuously, and were followed by his Excellency General Washington, and other general officers."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

General Poor died September 8, from a wound received in a duel with a French officer. His remains were interred in the burial-ground of the old Reformed Dutch Church, at Hackensack. In a letter to the President of Congress, dated September 15, Washington wrote, "It is with extreme regret, that I announce the death of Brigadier-General Poor on the 9th [?] instant, an officer of distinguished merit, who as a citizen and a soldier, had every claim to the esteem of his country."

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

At the "Hopper House": "The 20th instant is appointed for an interview with Count de Rochambeau and the Chevalier de Ternay, in which we shall probably combine several plans, dependent for their execution on different contingencies. One of these will be the arrival of a detachment from your fleet."—*Washington to the Count de Guichen*.

The Chevalier de Ternay also wrote to the Count de Guichen, requesting him to send four ships of the line to the coast of the United States; but he had left the West Indies and sailed for France before the letters arrived. M. de Monteil, his successor, could not decipher them, and of course no reinforcements were forwarded from the fleet.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13.

At the "Hopper House": "September 13th.—The army was paraded to be reviewed by General Washington, accompanied by a number of Indian chiefs. His Excellency, mounted on his noble bay charger, rode in front of the line of the army, and received the usual salute."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14.

At the "Hopper House": "I shall be at Peekskill on Sunday evening, on my way to Hartford, to meet the French admiral and general. You will be pleased to send down a



guard of a captain and fifty men at that time, and direct the quartermaster to endeavour to have a night's forage for about forty horses."—*Washington to General Arnold.*

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 16.

At the "Hopper House": "To-morrow I set out for Hartford, to have an interview with the French General and Admiral. In my absence, the command of the army devolves upon you."—*Washington to General Greene.*

Washington did not in reality set out till Monday the 18th, having been delayed one or two days longer than he expected. On the 20th the army moved back to its old quarters at Tappan.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 18.

Leaves Head-Quarters for Hartford: Crosses the Hudson at King's Ferry, where he is met by General Arnold, who accompanies him to Peekskill, where they pass the night. In the morning, Washington resumed his journey, and Arnold returned to his quarters at the "Robinson House."

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 21.

At Hartford, Connecticut: In conference with the Count de Rochambeau and Admiral de Ternay.

"Upon their appearance in Hartford [Washington and his suite], they were received with imposing ceremonies. The Governor's Guards, and a company of artillery, were on duty upon the occasion. They saluted Washington, as he entered the town, with thirteen guns. Trumbull, and Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, and other distinguished personages of the State, met him as he advanced. They gave him a cordial welcome—and, through crowds that rent the air with cheers, and strained to catch a sight of the illustrious Commander-in-chief, the latter made his way, together with Knox and La Fayette, to the residence of their mutual friend, Colonel Wadsworth—there upon the site where the Historical Society of Connecticut now lifts its walls—and where, in a beautiful mansion, still standing, though upon another spot, himself and his principal officers were nobly entertained during their stay. The same ceremony was repeated soon after Washington came upon the French commander and suite. They were formally received at the City Landing, after crossing the ferry—and marching

to the area in front of the Capitol, were there met by General Washington and his military companions. . . . The interview between the commanders was continued at the house of Colonel Wadsworth—whither the parties retired."—*Stuart's Life of Jonathan Trumbull*, p. 485.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22.

At Hartford: "Thursday night, the Conference was concluded. Friday saw the French officers start on their return to Newport—the Governor's Guards again in martial array—escorting the distinguished guests to the River bank, while thirteen guns renewedly rent the air."—*Life of Jonathan Trumbull*, p. 488.

"I was at Hartford, forty leagues distant from here [Newport, Rhode Island], with M. de Rochambeau. We were only six, the Admiral, his Chief of Engineers [Desandrouins], his son, the Viscomte de Rochambeau, and two aids-de-camp, of whom I was one. He had an interview there with General Washington. M. de Rochambeau sent me in advance, to announce his arrival, and I had time to see this man, illustrious, if not unique in our century. His handsome and majestic, while at the same time mild and open countenance perfectly reflects his moral qualities; he looks the hero; he is very cold; speaks little, but is courteous and frank. A shade of sadness overshadows his countenance, which is not unbecoming, and gives him an interesting air. His suite was more numerous than ours. The Marquis de Lafayette, General Knox, Chief of Artillery, M. de Gouvion, a Frenchman, Chief of Engineers, and six aids-de-camp [among whom were McHenry and Hamilton], accompanied him. He had besides an escort of 22 dragoons."—*Count de Fersen, Magazine of American History*, iii. 305.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.

Leaves Hartford: "General Washington and suite shook hands with the hospitable Wadsworth, the worthy Governor Trumbull, and numerous other friends—and, amid volleys of huzzas, started for the Head Quarters of the Army."—*Life of Jonathan Trumbull*, p. 488.

In consequence of an insufficiency of naval force, and the arrival at New York of Admiral Rodney, from the West Indies, with a fleet, the Hartford conference resulted in no fixed plan of operations. The interview, however, was important and serviceable in establishing amicable relations between the two commanders.



## SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 24.

At Litchfield, Connecticut: "On the evening of Saturday, September 23d, 1780, General WASHINGTON arrived here [Litchfield], on his way from Hartford to West Point, and was entertained at the hospitable mansion of General Oliver Wolcott, in South street. He spent the night in the village, and on the following morning proceeded westward."—*Kilbourne's Chronicles of Litchfield*, p. 129.

## MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 25.

At the "Robinson House": "General Arnold is gone to the Enemy. I have just now received a line from him, enclosing one to Mrs. Arnold, dated on board the Vulture. From this circumstance, and Colo. Lamb's being detached on some business, the command of the Garrison, for the present, devolves on you."—*Washington to Colonel Wade*, at West Point.

Washington reached Fishkill on his return from Hartford on the afternoon of the 24th, soon after leaving which he met M. de Luzerne, the French minister, with his suite, on his way to visit the Count de Rochambeau at Newport, who induced him to turn back and pass the night at Fishkill. He left early the next day, and, after examining the redoubts on the river, arrived at the "Robinson House," Arnold's head-quarters, about noon, one hour after the traitor's escape.

## TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26.

At the "Robinson House": "I arrived here yesterday, on my return from an interview with the French general and admiral, and have been witness to a scene of treason, as shocking as it was unexpected. General Arnold, from every circumstance, had entered into a plot for sacrificing West Point. He had an interview with Major André, the British adjutant-general, last week at Joshua H. Smith's, where the plan was concerted. By an extraordinary concurrence of incidents André was taken while on his return, with several papers in Arnold's hand-writing, that proved



the treason. The latter unluckily got notice of it before I did, went immediately down the river, got on board the Vulture, which brought up André, and proceeded to New York."—*Washington to Governor Clinton.*

Major André and Joshua Hett Smith were brought to the "Robinson House" on the morning of the 26th, the former from Colonel Sheldon's quarters in Lower Salem, and the latter from Fishkill. They were sent over to West Point the evening of the same day, and on the morning of the 28th were conveyed in separate barges down the river to Stony Point, and from thence conducted, under a strong escort, to Tappan, where the main body of the army was encamped.

#### WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27

At the "Robinson House": "I have concluded to send Major André of the British army, and Mr. Joshua H. Smith, who has had a great hand in carrying on the business between him and Arnold to Camp [at Tappan] to-morrow. . . . I intend to return to-morrow morning."—*Washington to General Greene.*

Joshua Hett Smith, at whose house, near Stony Point, Arnold and André held their interview (September 22), was tried by a military court and acquitted. He was soon afterwards arrested by the civil authorities and committed to the jail at Goshen, Orange County, whence he escaped and made his way through the country, in the disguise of a woman, to New York. Smith went to England with the British army at the close of the war, and in 1808 published a book in London entitled "An Authentic Narrative of the Causes which led to the Death of Major André," a work of very little reliable authority. He died at New York in 1818.

#### THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 28.

At Tappan: Summons a board of general officers to examine into the case of Major André, adjutant-general of the British army.

The board, which was composed of fourteen general officers, General Greene presiding, met on the following day (September 29), and, after maturely considering the facts, reported, "That Major André, Adjutant General of the British Army, ought to be consider'd as a Spy from the Enemy, and that, agreeably to the Law and usage of Nations, it is their opinion he ought to suffer death."

## SUNDAY, OCTOBER 1.

At Tappan: *Orderly Book*.—"Major André is to be executed to-morrow at 12 o'clock precisely. A Battalion of 80 Files from each wing to attend the Execution."

"October 2d.—Major André is no more among the living. I have just witnessed his exit. It was a tragical scene of the deepest interest. During his confinement and trial, he exhibited those proud and elevated sensibilities which designate greatness and dignity of mind. Not a murmur or a sigh ever escaped him, and the civilities and attentions bestowed on him were politely acknowledged. . . . The fatal hour having arrived, a large detachment of troops was paraded, and an immense concourse of people assembled; almost all our general and field officers, excepting his Excellency and his staff, were present on horseback; melancholy and gloom pervaded all ranks, and the scene was affectingly awful."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

## THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5.

At Tappan: "We are now drawing an inactive campaign to a close; the beginning of which appeared pregnant with events of a favorable complexn. I hoped, but I hoped in vain, that a prospect was displaying, which wd. enable me to fix a period to my military pursuits, and restore me to domestic life. . . . We have been half of our time without provision, and are likely to continue so. We have no magazines, nor money to form them; and in a little time we shall have no men, if we had money to pay them. We have lived upon expedients till we can live no longer. In a word, the history of the war is a history of false hopes and temporary devices, instead of system and economy."—*Washington to General John Cadwalader*.

## FRIDAY, OCTOBER 6.

At Tappan: *Orderly Book*.—"The General will beat at 7 o'clock to morrow morning, the assemble at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past eight, and the march will commence at 9 precisely."

## SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7.

At Paramus, New Jersey: "The main body of the army, the forage about Orange town and the lower Country being

exhausted, moved this morning, and is now arrived here. We have had a cold, wet and tedious march, on account of the feeble state of our Cattle, and have not a drop of rum to give the troops. My intention is to proceed with them to the country in the neighborhood of Passaic Falls."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 8.

At Preakness, New Jersey: "The French Fleet has been blocked up in the harbor of Newport almost ever since its arrival there, by a superior British squadron; which superiority has been lately increased by the arrival of Admiral Rodney from the West Indies with ten ships. Count de Guichen touched nowhere upon this coast, tho, by a variety of accounts, he was up as high as the latitude of 26, and by some higher."—*Washington to General Gates.*

On arriving at Preakness the Commander-in-Chief re-established himself at his old head-quarters, the "Dey House," where he remained until November 27.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13.

At Preakness: "The want of provisions is a clog to our operations in every quarter. We have several times, in the course of this campaign, been without either Bread or Meat and have never had more than four or five days beforehand. . . . The state of Virginia are desirous of an expedition to Detroit, and would make great exertions to carry it into execution. But while the enemy are so formidable to the southward, and are making such strides in that quarter, I fear it will require a greater force of men and supplies to check them than we, since the defeat near Camden, shall be able shortly to draw together."—*Washington to Colonel Brodhead, Commanding at Fort Pitt, MS. Letter.*

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 14.

At Preakness: "I am now to request that you will proceed to West-Point, and take upon you the command of



that post and its dependencies."—*Washington to General Heath.*

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 18.

At Preakness: "I am religiously persuaded, that the duration of the war, and the greatest part of the misfortunes and perplexities we have hitherto experienced are chiefly to be attributed to the system of temporary enlistments. Had we in the commencement raised an army for the war, such as was within the reach of the abilities of these States to raise and maintain, we should not have suffered those military checks which have so frequently shaken our cause, nor should we have incurred such enormous expenditures as have destroyed our paper currency, and with it all public credit."—*Washington's Circular Letter to the States*, October 18.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20.

At Preakness: "The plan proposed for taking A[rnol]d the outlines of which are communicated in your letter wh'ch was this moment put into my hands without a date—has every mark of a good one—I therefore agree to the promised rewards, and have such entire confidence in your management of the business as to give it my fullest approbation; and leave the whole to the guidance of your own judgment, with this expressed stipulation & pointed injunction, that he A[rnol]d is brought to me alive. No circumstances whatever shall obtain my consent to his being put to death—the idea which would accompany such an event would be that ruffians had been hired to assassinate him,—my aim is to make a public example of him—and this should be strongly impressed upon those who are employed to bring him off." *Washington to Major Henry Lee.*

Soon after arriving at head-quarters, at Tappan, the Commander-in-Chief sent for Major Henry Lee, and informed him that he was extremely desirous of securing the person of General Arnold, then in New York City, and that

he relied upon him to furnish a trustworthy agent for the purpose. Major Lee, after considerable persuasion, induced John Champe, a sergeant-major in his legion, to undertake the service by making a pretended desertion to the enemy from the camp at Tappan. The desertion took place at night, and so well was it managed that Champe, although hotly pursued by a party of his fellow-dragoons, succeeded in getting into New York, and, after being examined by Sir Henry Clinton, was sent to Arnold, who made him sergeant-major in a legion he was raising for an expedition southward. Having settled upon a plan, Champe found means to inform Major Lee, who communicated the details to Washington, and the letter above quoted, containing his positive injunction that the traitor must be taken alive, was written for final instructions. The capture was arranged for the night of November 5, but on that day, unfortunately, Arnold moved his quarters, and the legion to which Champe belonged was sent shortly afterwards to Virginia. He finally succeeded in escaping and joined "Lee's Legion;" but Washington, knowing that he would immediately be hanged if caught by the enemy, discharged him from the service, after munificently rewarding him. Sergeant Champe was born in Loudon County, Virginia, in 1752, and died in Kentucky about the year 1798.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 22.

At Preakness: "Congress having been pleased, by their resolution of the 5th instant, to authorize me to appoint an officer to the command of the Southern army, in the room of Major-General Gates, till an inquiry can be had into his conduct as therein directed, I have thought proper to choose you for this purpose. You will, therefore, proceed without delay to the Southern army, now in North Carolina, and take the command accordingly. . . . I have put Major Lee's corps under marching orders, and, so soon as he is ready, shall detach him to join you."—*Washington to General Greene.*

General Gates, who had been appointed by Congress, on the 13th of June, to the command of the Southern army, independent of the Commander-in-Chief, was totally defeated by Lord Cornwallis at Camden, South Carolina, August 16, 1780. "This battle terminated the military career of General Gates, whose singular fortune it was to conduct the most prosperous and the most disastrous of the military enterprises of the war." He was removed from command and suspended from service until inquiry should be had as to his conduct.



## SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5.

At Preakness: "Our affairs at the southward put on a more pleasing aspect since the defeat of Colonel Ferguson. Lord Cornwallis was retreating precipitately from Charlotte, and giving up a fine district of country, which he had in possession."—*Washington to Governor Clinton.*

The battle of King's Mountain, near the line between North and South Carolina, in which a body of British regulars and Tories, under Major Patrick Ferguson, was defeated and obliged to surrender, was fought October 7. Major Ferguson and one hundred and fifty of his men were killed, and about the same number were wounded. The attacking party, composed of hardy mountaineers from Virginia and North Carolina, under Colonels Campbell, McDowell, Cleaveland, Shelby, and Sevier, having accomplished the object for which they assembled, returned to their homes. Their loss was twenty men, and a number wounded.

## MONDAY, NOVEMBER 20.

At Preakness: "A foreign loan is indispensably necessary to the continuance of the war. Congress will deceive themselves, if they imagine that the army, or a State that is the theatre of war, can rub through a second campaign as the last. It would be as unreasonable as to suppose, that, because a man had rolled a snow-ball till it had acquired the size of a horse, that he might do so till it was as large as a house. Matters may be pushed to a certain point, beyond which we cannot move them."—*Washington to General Sullivan.*

## THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 23.

At Preakness: Is visited by the Marquis de Chastellux, major-general in the French army.

"After riding two miles along the right flank of the army, and after passing thick woods on the right, I found myself in a small plain, where I saw a handsome farm; a small camp which seemed to cover it, a large tent extended in the court, and several waggons round it, convinced me that this was his Excellency's quarter; for it is thus Mr. Washington is called in the army, and throughout America. M. de la Fayette was in conversation with a tall man, five foot nine inches high (about five foot ten inches and a half



English), of a noble and mild countenance. It was the General himself. I was soon off horseback, and near him. The compliments were short; the sentiments with which I was animated, and the good wishes he testified for me were not equivocal. He conducted me to his house, where I found the company still at table, although the dinner had been long over. He presented me to the Generals Knox, Waine, Howe, &c. and to his *family*, then composed of Colonels Hamilton and Tilgman, his Secretaries and his Aides de Camp, and of Major Gibbs, commander of his guards; for in England and America, the Aides de Camp, Adjutants and other officers attached to the General, form what is called his *family*. A fresh dinner was prepared for me and mine; and the present was prolonged to keep me company."—*De Chastellux, Travels in North America*, i. 112.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 24.

At Preakness: Reviews the army at the different camps, accompanied by the Marquis de Chastellux.

"At our return we found a good dinner ready, and about twenty guests, among whom were Generals Howe and Sinclair. . . . The conversation was calm and agreeable; his Excellency was pleased to enter with me into the particulars of some of the principal operations of the war, but always with a modesty and conciseness, which proved that it was from pure complaisance he mentioned it. . . . The weather was so bad on the 25th, that it was impossible for me to stir, even to wait on the generals, to whom M. de la Fayette was to conduct me. I easily consoled myself for this, finding it a great luxury to pass a whole day with General Washington, as if he were at his house in the country, and had nothing to do. The Generals Glover, Huntingdon, and some others, dined with us, and the Colonels Stewart and Butler, two officers distinguished in the army. The intelligence received this day occasioned the proposed attack on Staten Island to be laid aside. . . . It was determined therefore that the army should march the next day to winter quarters, and that I should continue my route to Philadelphia."—*De Chastellux*, i. 124.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 26.

At Preakness: *Orderly Book*.—"The army will march tomorrow morning. The *Generale* will beat at nine. The *Assemblee* at half past nine, and the march will commence precisely at ten."

The Marquis de Chastellux left camp early in the morning of the 27th. It was this visit to Washington that brought out his admirable pen-portrait of the Commander-in-Chief, so frequently quoted: "It is not my intention

to exaggerate. I wish only to express the impression General Washington has left on my mind; the idea of a perfect whole, that cannot be the produce of enthusiasm, which rather would reject it, since the effect of proportion is to diminish the idea of greatness. Brave without temerity, laborious without ambition, generous without prodigality, noble without pride, virtuous without severity; he seems always to have confined himself within those limits, where the virtues, by cloathing themselves in more lively, but more changeable and doubtful colours, may be mistaken for faults. *This is the seventh year that he has commanded the army, and that he has obeyed Congress; more need not be said, especially in America, where they know how to appreciate all the merit contained in this simple fact.* Let it be repeated that Conde was intrepid, Turenne prudent, Eugene adroit, Catinat disinterested. It is not thus that Washington will be characterized. It will be said of him, **AT THE END OF A LONG CIVIL WAR, HE HAD NOTHING WITH WHICH HE COULD REPROACH HIMSELF.** . . . In speaking of this perfect whole of which General Washington furnishes the idea, I have not excluded exterior form. His stature is noble and lofty, he is well made, and exactly proportioned; his physiognomy mild and agreeable, but such as to render it impossible to speak particularly of any of his features, so that in quitting him, you have only the recollection of a fine face."—*Travels in North America*, i. 137.

#### MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27.

At Preakness: "You will march with the division under your command to the ground in the neighborhood of Morristown, which Colonel Craig has pitched upon for the winter cantonment of the line, and on which he has been preparing huts."—*Washington to General Wayne*.

#### TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28.

At Morristown, New Jersey: "I arrived at this place to-day, having yesterday broken up the camp near Passaic Falls, and detached the troops to their different places of cantonment. I shall repair to New Windsor, where I purpose to establish my winter-quarters, after having made some necessary regulations here and visited the hospitals."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

"Nov. 1780.—To the Expenditures on a journey (after the Army left the Field for Winter Quarters) to Morristown—Fleming Town—Halkets Town [Hackettstown]—New Germ<sup>a</sup> Town—Sussex C<sup>t</sup> House &c. to the Cantonment at New Windsor—476 Doll<sup>rs</sup> & £102.14."—*Washington's Accounts*.

## WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 6.

At New Windsor, New York: "*December 6th.*—At evening his Excellency Gen. Washington, arrived at New Windsor, where he took winter-quarters."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

Washington remained at New Windsor (except as stated) until June 25, 1781, occupying his old quarters, the "William Ellison House." This is the house referred to by Lossing (*Field-Book*, i. 681) as a "plain Dutch house, long since decayed and demolished. In that humble tenement Lady Washington entertained the most distinguished officers and their ladies, as well as the more obscure who sought her friendship."

## SUNDAY, DECEMBER 10.

At New Windsor: "The army is cantoned in the following manner. The Pennsylvania line near Morristown; the Jersey brigade at the entrance of the Clove, to cover the communication; the New York brigade in the vicinity of Albany, furnishing the garrison of Fort Schuyler; and the New England lines at West Point and its dependencies; the regiments much weakened by discharging the levies."—*Washington to Baron Steuben*.

"*December 10.*—A little before noon, Gen. Washington visited West Point."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

## MONDAY, DECEMBER 11.

At New Windsor: "The situation of the Army in respect to Cloathing is really distressing. By collecting all our remnants, and those of a thousand colors & kinds, we shall scarcely make them comfortable. Uniformity, one of the essentials of discipline, & every thing in the appearance of a Soldier, must be dispensed with;—and what makes the matter more mortifying is, that we have, I am positively assured Ten thousand compleat suits ready in France & laying there because our public agents cannot agree whose business it is to ship them."—*Washington to General Lincoln*.

## WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 13.

At New Windsor: "It gives me much pleasure to hear, that my letters of introduction were serviceable to you. I



am persuaded there is not wanting a disposition in Congress, or the individual States at the southward, to afford you every support, which the unhappy state of our finances will admit."—*Washington to General Greene.*

"Public credit is so totally lost, that private people will not give their aid, though they see themselves involved in one common ruin. It is my opinion that General Washington's influence will do more than all the assemblies upon the continent. I always thought him exceeding popular; but in many places he is little less than adored, and universally admired. His influence in this country might possibly effect something great. However, I found myself exceedingly well received, but more from being the friend of the General, than from my own merit."—*Greene to Hamilton, January 10, 1781.*

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 19.

At New Windsor: Entertains the Marquis de Chastellux, on his way to Stillwater and Saratoga.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 20.

At New Windsor: "Disappointed of the second division of French troops, but more especially in the expected naval superiority, which was the pivot upon which every thing turned, we have been compelled to spend an inactive campaign, after a flattering prospect at the opening of it, and vigorous struggles to make it a decisive one on our part."—*Washington to Benjamin Franklin, at Paris.*

The second division of French troops destined for America, which had been blockaded in the harbor of Brest, never arrived, although provision had partly been made for quartering them at New London, Norwich, Lebanon, Windham, and other Connecticut towns.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23.

At New Windsor: "You will take command of such of the detachments of water guards, now on the river, as you may think necessary, and with them attempt to surprise and bring off General Knyphausen from Morris's House on York Island, or Sir Henry Clinton from Kennedy's House in the city, if, from the tide, weather, and other circum-

stances, you shall judge the enterprise practicable."—*Washington to Colonel Humphreys.*

"On the 25th inst. Major Humphreys, Ad-~~de~~-camp to the Commander in Chief, went [from the post at Union Ferry] towards New York on an enterprise: he was attended by Capt. Wiles, of the Connecticut line, Lieut. Hart, Ensign M. Culpin, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. McGuyer, and twenty-four non-commissioned officers and privates, in one barge and two whale-boats. The wind was very fresh at north-west in the night, and the boats were forced past the city and one of them almost down to Sandy-Hook—one of the boats put in at Staten Island: at length the three went round to Brunswick, from whence the Major and all the others, returned to the army on the 1st of January."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 30.

At West Point: "*December 30th.*—Gen. Washington visited the Point, and, with a number of other officers, dined with our General."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 3.

At New Windsor: "To-day at noon I received yours of the 2d in the morning by Major Fishbourn, who has given me a full account of the unhappy and alarming defection of the Pennsylvania line."—*Washington to General Wayne.*

On the 1st of January (about nine o'clock at night) a mutiny broke out among the Pennsylvania troops, in winter-quarters on Kimball Hill, near Morristown, New Jersey. About thirteen hundred men paraded under arms, refused obedience to their officers, killed Captain Billings, mortally wounded Captain Talbot, and committed various outrages. On the following day the mutineers marched in a body towards Princeton with six field-pieces, avowing their intention to proceed to Philadelphia, to demand from Congress a redress of their grievances. General Wayne overtook them on their march, and obtained a formal statement of their claims, which were: That many soldiers had been detained beyond the term of their enlistment; that the arrearages of pay and the depreciation had not been made up; and that they were suffering every privation for want of money and clothes. The matter was referred to the President of the Council of Pennsylvania, Joseph Reed, who, in conjunction with a committee appointed by Congress, consisting of General Sullivan, Mr. Witherspoon, and Mr. Mathews, made a satisfactory agreement with the soldiers at Trenton, January 11. Two emissaries or spies sent among them with overtures from Sir Henry Clinton were given up, tried by a court-martial, and executed. The whole affair resulted in the disbanding of a large part of the Pennsylvania line for the winter, but it was recruited in the spring to its original complement.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 11.

At West Point: A council of war held at General Heath's quarters, to consider what measures were necessary to be adopted with respect to the Pennsylvania line.

"January 11th.—Accounts were received from the southward that the American army in that quarter were in a most miserable condition, on account of cloathing and provisions and that their sufferings were greater than those experienced by the main army."—*Heath's Memoirs.*



## MONDAY, JANUARY 15.

At New Windsor: "I should have done myself the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of the letter you did me the favor to write on the 26th of December, at the moment of its receipt, had not some affairs of a very unusual nature, which are too recent and notorious to require explanation, engaged my whole attention. I pray you now to be persuaded, that a sense of the patriotic exertions of yourself and the ladies who have furnished so handsome and useful a gratuity for the army, at so critical and severe a season, will not easily be effaced, and that the value of the donation will be greatly enhanced by a consideration of the hands by which it was made and presented."—*Washington to Mrs. Sarah Bache.*

Mrs. Sarah Bache, daughter of Dr. Franklin, took a prominent part in carrying out the plans of an association of the ladies of Philadelphia, formed for the purpose of collecting contributions in aid of the soldiers. The "handsome and useful gratuity for the army" was a contribution of two thousand and five shirts, a practical application of funds and labor highly creditable to its members. The association was formed in the summer of 1780, and on July 4, Mrs. Joseph Reed, then at the head of it, but who died on the 18th of September following, wrote to Washington that "200,580 dollars, and £625. 6. 8d. making the whole in paper money 300,634 dollars," had been collected, and requesting directions how best to dispose of it. Of this sum, the Marquis de Lafayette contributed one hundred guineas in specie in the name of his wife, and the Countess de Luzerne six thousand dollars in paper.

## MONDAY, JANUARY 22.

At West Point: "*January 22d.*—His Excellency Gen. Washington, the Marquis de la Fayette, and a number of French gentlemen, visited the Point."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

Count Dumas, aide to General Rochambeau, one of the "French gentlemen" referred to by General Heath, has left us in his Memoirs an account of the return of the party to New Windsor: "After having visited the forts and reviewed the garrison, as the day was declining, and we were going to mount our horses, the General perceived that M. de la Fayette, in consequence of his old wound [received at the battle of Brandywine], was very much fatigued. 'It will be better,' said he, 'to return by water; the tide

will assist us in ascending against the stream.' A boat was soon manned with good rowers, and we embarked. The cold became excessive; we had to make our way between the large flakes of ice which the river brought down. A heavy snow and the obscurity of the night soon rendered the danger more imminent and the management of the boat, which filled with water, became increasingly difficult. We coasted the rocks which lined the right bank of the Hudson, between West Point and New Windsor, at the foot of which it was impossible to land. General Washington, perceiving that the master of the boat was very much alarmed, took the helm, saying 'Courage, my friends; I am going to conduct you, since it is my duty to hold the helm.' After having with much difficulty made our way against the stream and the ice, we landed, and had to walk a league before we reached the head-quarters."

TUESDAY, JANUARY 30.

At New Windsor: *Orderly Book*.—"The General returns his thanks to Major-Gen'l Howe for the judicious measures he pursued, and to the officers and men under his command, for the good conduct and alacrity with which they executed his orders, for suppressing the late mutiny in a part of the New Jersey line."

On the evening of January 20 the New Jersey troops stationed at Pompton, New Jersey, revolted, their demands being similar to those of the Pennsylvania line. By order of the Commander-in-Chief, a detachment consisting of five hundred rank and file, properly officered, from the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire lines, under the command of Major-General Robert Howe, marched on the 23d, and reached Pompton on the 27th. His instructions were to grant no terms while the revolted troops were with arms, and, if successful in compelling a surrender, to instantly execute a few of the most active leaders. The mutineers were disarmed, three of the ringleaders shot, and order restored. Washington himself went to Ringwood, ten miles north of Pompton, on the 26th, and remained until the 28th, when he returned to head-quarters.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 4.

At New Windsor: "The measure adopted by Congress of appointing Ministers of War, Finance, and for Foreign Affairs, I think a very wise one. To give efficacy to it, proper characters will, no doubt, be chosen to conduct the business of these departments. . . . I am pleased to hear that Maryland has acceded to the confederation, and that



Virginia has relinquished her claim to the Land West of the Ohio."—*Washington to General Sullivan.*

Maryland had steadily refused to ratify the "Articles of Confederation," adopted by Congress, November 15, 1777, until the conflicting claims of the Union and of the separate States to the crown-lands should be adjusted. This point was finally settled by the cession of the claiming States to the United States of all the unsettled and unappropriated lands for the benefit of the whole Union. The objection of Maryland having been removed by the settlement of this question, her delegates signed the "Articles of Confederation" on the first day of March, 1781. By this act of Maryland, all the other States having previously ratified the Articles, they became the organic law of the Union, and on the 2d of March Congress assembled under the new powers. A few weeks prior to this date Congress had introduced a much-needed reform into the administration, by abolishing the several committees and boards of its members, on whom all the great executive duties had heretofore devolved. On January 10 an office for the Department of Foreign Affairs was established, and on February 7 it was resolved: "That there be a superintendent of finance, a secretary of war, and a secretary of marine." On February 20, Robert Morris was elected Superintendent of Finance; on the 27th, Major-General Alexander McDougall, Secretary of Marine; and on August 10, Robert R. Livingston, Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The election for Secretary of War did not take place until October 30, when Major-General Benjamin Lincoln was elected.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17.

At New Windsor: "General Morgan's signal victory over Colonel Tarleton and the flower of the British army [battle of Cowpens, South Carolina, 17th January] reflects the highest honor upon our arms, and I hope will at least be attended with this advantage, that it will check the offensive operations of the enemy, until General Greene shall have collected a much more respectable force than he had under his command by the last accounts from him."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 20.

At New Windsor: "I have ordered a detachment to be made at this post, to rendezvous at Peekskill on the 19th t, which, together with another to be formed at Morfrom the Jersey troops, will amount to about twelve



hundred rank and file. The destination of this detachment is to act against the corps of the enemy now in Virginia, in conjunction with the militia, and some ships from the fleet of the Chevalier Destouches, which he informs me sailed the 9th instant from Newport. You will take the command of this detachment, which you will in the first instance march by battalions towards Pompton, there to rendezvous and afterwards to proceed with all possible despatch to the Head of Elk. . . . When the object of the detachment is fulfilled (or unfortunately disappointed), you will return to this post with it by the same route, if circumstances admit, and with as much expedition as possible."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

The object of this expedition was the capture of Arnold, who, having been made a brigadier-general in the British service, was then in Virginia, with a body of troops, engaged in predatory excursions, inflicting much injury by burning and pillage. The force from the French fleet at Newport, which was expected to support Lafayette, consisted of a ship of the line and two frigates under the command of M. de Tilly, who entered Chesapeake Bay, but did not remain for fear of being blockaded. He therefore put to sea, and arrived at Newport a few days after the detachment had started.

#### SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24.

At New Windsor: "The flattering distinction paid to the anniversary of my birth-day is an honor for which I dare not attempt to express my gratitude. I confide in your excellency's sensibility to interpret my feelings for this, and for the obliging manner in which you are pleased to announce it."—*Washington to Count de Rochambeau.*

"Newport, February 12, 1781.—Yesterday [Sunday] was the anniversary of your Excellency's birth day. We have put off celebrating that holiday till to-day, by reason of the Lord's day and we will celebrate it with the sole regret that your Excellency be not a Witness of the effusion and gladness of our hearts."—*Rochambeau to Washington.*

The celebration is said to have consisted of a parade of the French troops, the firing of a salute, and, in honor of the occasion, a suspension of further labors for the day. This is, probably, the earliest public recognition of

Washington's birthday. It was held, as will be noted, according to the *Old Style* of computing the length of the year.

THURSDAY, MARCH 1.

At New Windsor: "I have just received letters from the Count de Rochambeau and the Chevalier Destouches, informing me of their intention to operate in the Chesapeake Bay with their whole fleet, and a detachment of eleven hundred French troops, grenadiers and chasseurs included. The Chevalier expects to sail the 5th of this month, so that you will arrive at the Head of Elk, before he appears in the Bay. . . . I shall set out in the morning for Rhode Island, where I hope to arrive before the fleet sails, to level all difficulties and be in the way to improve circumstances."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

"On the morning of the 2d of March, Gen. Washington set out from New-Windsor, for Rhode-Island."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

SUNDAY, MARCH 4.

At Hartford, Connecticut: "*March* fourth—D.[ies] Dom.[inicus]. General Washington came with his aids Col. —, Col. Tilgham [Tilghman]. The Genl left an order for a General Court Martial for the trial of Alexander McDowell for desertion—set out for Newport—M. Gen. Howe with him. Col. Trumbull accompanied them to Lebanon."—*Diary of Jonathan Trumbull.*

MONDAY, MARCH 5.

At Lebanon, Connecticut: Reviews the Legion of the Duke de Lauzun, in quarters at Lebanon.

TUESDAY, MARCH 6.

At Newport, Rhode Island: "*March* 6th.—This day General Washington, who was expected, arrived about two o'clock. He first went [from the ferry at Jamestown, by admiral's barge] to the Duc de Bourgogne [the flag-ship], where all the generals were. He then landed; all



the troops were under arms; I was presented to him. His face is handsome, noble and mild. He is tall (at least, five feet, eight inches). In the evening I was at supper with him. I mark, as a fortunate day, that in which I have been able to behold a man so truly great."—*Diary of Claude Blanchard*, Commissary of the French army, p. 93.

"Washington landed at Barney's Ferry—the corner of the Long Wharf and Washington Street. The French troops formed a close line, three deep on either side, from the ferry house up the Long Wharf and Washington Square to Clarke Street, where it turned at a right angle and continued to Rochambeau's head-quarters. The following night the town was illuminated. At that time the inhabitants were poverty stricken, and comparatively few were able to take part in the joyful ceremony; but that all should share in the honors paid so distinguished a visitor, the Town Council ordered that candles should be purchased, and given to all who were too much distressed, through continued losses, to purchase for themselves; so that every house should show a light. The procession was led off by thirty boys, bearing candles fixed on staffs, followed by Gen. Washington, Count Rochambeau and the other officers, their aids and the procession of citizens. The night was clear, and there was not a breath to fan the torches. The brilliant procession marched through the principal streets, and then returned to the head-quarters. On reaching the door, Washington waited on the step until all the officers and their friends had entered the house; then, turning to the boys who had acted as torch-bearers he thanked them for their attention. This was glory enough for the young patriots."—*Newport Illustrated*, p. 36.

#### WEDNESDAY, MARCH 7.

At Newport: Attends a ball given by the Count de Rochambeau, at Mrs. Cowley's Assembly Room, and opens it by request, his partner being Miss Margaret Champlin, afterwards Mrs. Dr. Benjamin Mason.

"The dance selected by his partner was 'A Successful Campaign,' then in high favor; and the French officers took the instruments from the musicians, and played while he danced the first figure with one of the most beautiful and fascinating of Newport's many belles."—*Newport Illustrated*, p. 44.

#### THURSDAY, MARCH 8.

At Newport: Receives and answers an address from the inhabitants of Newport. Committee: Christopher Ellery,



William Channing, William Taggart, and Solomon Southwick.

"I found myself on duty all of last week. . . . add to this the arrival of the celebrated Washington the Atlas of your country. Our army received him with the marks of distinction due to his rank and to his personal qualities; we had not eyes enough to see him with. Man is born with a tendency to pride and the further he progresses in his career in an elevated rank the more his self love nourishes this vice in him but so far from this Washington although born with every superior quality adds to them an imposing modesty which will always cause him to be admired by those who have the good fortune to see him; as for esteem he has already drawn to himself that of all Europe even in the heart of his enemies and ours 'tandem oculi nostri, videuntur honorem et virtutem.'"—*Chevalier de Silly to Solomon Drowne, 15th March, 1781.*

#### SUNDAY, MARCH 11.

At Newport: "I informed you on the 8th in the evening, that the French fleet had put to sea. By advices from New London, the British did the same yesterday morning with their whole force. They gave out publicly, that they were bound for the Chesapeake."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

Washington remained at Newport until the 13th, and was the recipient of many attentions of a private character from the prominent inhabitants of the town. During his stay he was the guest of Count de Rochambeau, who occupied the house of William Vernon, in New Lane, No 302 (north-east corner of Mary and Clarke Streets), as his head-quarters.

#### TUESDAY, MARCH 13.

Leaves Newport: Passes through Bristol, Rhode Island, and arrives at Providence in the evening.

"*March 13, 1781.*—General Washington passed through Bristol on his way to Providence. When the news of his approach was received, a company of inhabitants, mounted upon horseback, went down to the ferry to meet him, and to escort him to the village. Accompanied by his aids, he passed directly through the town, riding the entire length of Hope Street. He passed State Street, a salute was fired in front of the Court House, and he stood in the middle of the street. When he passed Bradford inhabitants, clad in their best apparel, stood upon either side of being divided according to their sexes, and as he passed, showed

their respect for him by strewing his path with flowers, evergreens, etc., accompanied with the highest marks of civility. When Washington reached the Bridge he turned to the inhabitants, and addressed them in brief but eloquent manner, returning the kindness and civility which had been shown him."—*Munro's History of Bristol*, p. 242.

#### WEDNESDAY, MARCH 14.

At Providence, Rhode Island: Receives and answers an address from the inhabitants of the town, and in the evening attends a military ball.

Count Dumas relates in his *Memoirs* the following interesting story of Washington's reception at Providence: "After having conferred with Count Rochambeau, as he [Washington] was leaving us to return to his head-quarters near West Point, I received the welcome order to accompany him as far as Providence. We arrived there at night [March 13]; the whole of the population had assembled from the suburbs, we were surrounded by a crowd of children carrying torches, reiterating the acclamations of the citizens; all were eager to approach the person of him whom they called their father,\* and pressed so closely around us that they hindered us from proceeding. General Washington was much affected, stopped a few moments, and pressing my hand, said, 'We may be beaten by the English; it is the chance of war; but behold an army which they can never conquer.'"

Both Irving and Bancroft refer to this incident as having occurred on the return of Washington to head-quarters after his *first* interview with Rochambeau, at Hartford, September 21, 1780, six months earlier in time. The text of Dumas in its connection is confusing, but it should be noted that his *Memoirs* were written late in life, when the memory of dates and places goes easily astray.

#### THURSDAY, MARCH 15.

Leaves Providence: Early in the morning of the 15th General Washington and his suite continued their journey,

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\* The earliest application of the epithet "Father of his Country" to Washington, which has come to our knowledge, occurs in a German almanac, the "*Nord Americanische Kalender*," for the year 1779, printed at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The frontispiece—of the full size of the page, small quarto, an emblematic design—presents in the upper portion of it a figure of Fame, with a trumpet in her right hand, and in her left a medallion portrait, laureated, inscribed, "Washington." From the trumpet proceed the words, "Des Landes Vater,"—the FATHER OF THE COUNTRY.



being escorted a few miles from the town by a civil and military cavalcade. While in Providence he was entertained at the house of the Hon. Jabez Bowen.

FRIDAY, MARCH 16.

At Hartford, Connecticut: General Washington arrived at Hartford on the evening of Friday, March 16.

SATURDAY, MARCH 17.

At Hartford: "It would have afforded me the greatest pleasure, had I been able to extend my late visit to Newport, as far as Boston; but the important operations, which may be expected at the southward, made it necessary for me to return as soon as possible to the North River."—*Washington to Governor Hancock.*

"*March seventeenth.* Saturday—Dined at Mr. Platt's with Gen. Washington, and spent the afternoon—he came to my lodgings—communicated Mr. Southwick and Com. General's letters—conversed on various subjects."—*Diary of Jonathan Trumbull.*

SUNDAY, MARCH 18.

Leaves Hartford: "Lord's Day—March eighteenth, General Washington came on Friday night—went out this morning."—*Diary of Jonathan Trumbull.*

TUESDAY, MARCH 20.

At New Windsor: "*March 20th.*—In the afternoon, Gen. Washington arrived at head-quarters, at New-Windsor, from the eastward."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21.

At New Windsor: "I returned to this place yesterday at noon. I did not prosecute my intention of visiting Springfield, as I wished not to be out of the line of communication from the southward, on account of the important intelligence which may be hourly expected from that quarter."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*



"To the Expenditures on a journey to Rhode Island, on a visit to the French army. . . 19,848½ Doll<sup>rs</sup> = To Specie Expenditures on this journey—p<sup>r</sup> My Mem<sup>m</sup> B<sup>k</sup>—where Paper w<sup>d</sup> not pass. . . £68.12.0."—*Washington's Accounts*.

THURSDAY, MARCH 22.

At New Windsor: "I am much indebted to you for announcing my election as a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. I feel myself particularly honored by this relation to a society, whose efforts to promote useful knowledge will, I am persuaded, acquire them a high reputation in the literary world."—*Washington to Joseph Willard*.

MONDAY, MARCH 26.

At New Windsor: "The many remarkable interpositions of the divine government, in the hours of our deepest distress and darkness, have been too luminous to suffer me to doubt the happy issue of the present contest; but the period for its accomplishment may be too far distant for a person of my years, whose morning and evening hours, and every moment (unoccupied by business), pants for retirement, and for those domestic and rural enjoyments, which in my estimation far surpass the highest pageantry of this world."—*Washington to General Armstrong*.

SATURDAY, MARCH 31.

At New Windsor: "I was last evening honored with your favor of the 19th instant by the Hermione, by way of Philadelphia, and with a duplicate from Newport. I am obliged by the minute detail you were pleased to give me of the action on the 16th instant, between the squadron of his Most Christian Majesty under your command, and that of the British under Admiral Arbuthnot."—*Washington to the Chevalier Destouches*.

The French squadron under the Chevalier Destouches, with a detachment of troops, sailed from Newport for the Chesapeake on the 8th of March, to co-operate in the movement of Lafayette against Arnold. They were pursued by Admiral Arbuthnot and forced to an engagement, in which,

though the honors of war were with the French, some of their vessels suffered so severely that they were obliged to return to Newport to repair damages. Arbuthnot made all speed to the Chesapeake, which he effectually blockaded. Washington wrote to Colonel John Laurens, at Paris, under date of April 9: "The failure of this expedition, which was most flattering in the commencement, is much to be regretted; because a successful blow in that quarter would, in all probability, have given a decisive turn to our affairs in all the Southern States; because it has been attended with considerable expense on our part, and much inconvenience to the State of Virginia, by the assembling of its militia; because the world is disappointed at not seeing Arnold in Gibbets."

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 4.\*

At New Windsor: "General Greene has had a general engagement with Lord Cornwallis [battle of Guilford Court-House, 15th March], from which, though he suffered a defeat, he might ultimately derive advantages, had his Lordship no prospect of fresh succours."—*Washington to General Lincoln.*

The battle of Guilford Court-House, North Carolina, was one of the most sanguinary battles of the war; and, although the enemy remained masters of the field, their army was too much shattered to resume offensive operations. After issuing a proclamation boasting of his victory, Cornwallis retired to Wilmington, from whence, on the 25th of April, he set out on his fatal march into Virginia.

THURSDAY, APRIL 5.

At New Windsor: "While we lament the miscarriage of an enterprise, which bid so fair for success, we must console ourselves in the thought of having done everything practicable to accomplish it. I am certain that the Chevalier Destouches exerted himself to the utmost to gain the Chesapeake. The point upon which the whole turned, the action with Admiral Arbuthnot, reflects honor upon the Chevalier and upon the marine of France. As matters have turned out, it is to be wished that you had not gone out of the Elk. But I never judge of the propriety of

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\* "April 4th.—Gen. Washington visited West-Point."—*Heath's Memoirs.*



measures by after events. Your move to Annapolis, at the time you made it, was certainly judicious. . . . I imagine the detachment will be upon its march this way before this reaches you."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

FRIDAY, APRIL 6.

At New Windsor: "I have communicated to the general officers, at present with the army, my sentiments on the subject; and they are unanimously of opinion, that the detachment under your command should proceed and join the southern army. . . . You will therefore immediately on receipt of this, turn the detachment to the southward."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

At the time of receiving this order Lafayette was at the Head of Elk, preparing to march back with his troops to the banks of the Hudson, in pursuance of his original instructions. He immediately turned southward, and when the detachment reached Baltimore, finding that the men were suffering for the want of suitable clothing, borrowed money on his own credit to supply the material. After being joined by General Wayne (June 10), with about one thousand of the Pennsylvania line, the movements of Lafayette were so prudent and skilful that they contributed in no slight degree to the success of the campaign.

SUNDAY, APRIL 8.

At New Windsor: "Intelligence has been sent to me, by a gentleman living near the enemy's lines, who has an opportunity of knowing what passes among them, that four parties have been sent out with orders to take or assassinate your Excellency, Governor Clinton, myself and a fourth person, whose name is not known."—*Washington to Governor Livingston.*

"This kind of intelligence was not uncommon. It was probably sometimes sent out through secret channels by the enemy, with the view of exciting alarm and vigilance at certain points, when they wished to draw attention away from others. It is certain, also, that plans were concerted for seizing the principal persons among the Americans. On one or two occasions Governor Livingston narrowly escaped. One of the spies, who came out with Sir Henry Clinton's proposition to the Pennsylvania mutineers, declared after he was taken, and repeated it at the time of his exe-



cution, that he knew a party who had formed a scheme to seize General Washington, and he pretended to reveal the manner in which they proposed to carry it into effect."—*Sparks*, vii. 472.

THURSDAY, APRIL 26.

At West Point: "*April 26th.*—Gen. Washington visited West Point and Monsieur Beville, Quarter-Master of the French army at Newport."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

MONDAY, APRIL 30.

At New Windsor: "I am very sorry to hear of your loss. I am a little sorry to hear of my own; but that which gives me most concern is, that you should go on board the enemy's vessels, and furnish them with refreshments. It would have been a less painful circumstance to me to have heard, that in consequence of your non-compliance with their request, they had burnt my house and laid the plantation in ruins. You ought to have considered yourself as my representative, and should have reflected on the bad example of communicating with the enemy, and making a voluntary offer of refreshments to them with a view to prevent a conflagration."—*Washington to Lund Washington*.

During an expedition by General Phillips, up the Chesapeake Bay and its principal rivers, in the early part of April, one of his smaller vessels ascended the Potomac and menaced Mount Vernon. Lund Washington, who had charge of the estate, met the flag which the enemy sent on shore, and saved the property from ravage by furnishing the vessel with provisions. Washington's decided disapproval of this action is pretty conclusively conveyed in the letter from which the above extract is made. Lund Washington, manager of the Mount Vernon estate from 1760 to 1785, was a great-grandson of Lawrence Washington, brother of John Washington, the great-grandfather of General Washington; this made them cousins in the third remove. He was born October 21, 1737, and died in July, 1796. His own plantation, "Hayfield," was about four miles from Mount Vernon.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 3.

At West Point: "*May 9th.*—Went to the Posts at West Point, and found by enquiry of General Heath that all the meal [meat?] deposited in the advanced redoubts for con-

tingent purposes would not, if served out, serve the army two days."—*Washington's Journal*.

On May 1, 1781, Washington began "A Concise Journal of Military Transactions," the original manuscript of which is preserved in the library of the Department of State, at Washington, D.C. The journal ending November 5 was printed in the *Magazine of American History* for 1881, and from this our extracts are made. The following, from the prefatory note, exhibits in a striking manner the condition of the army at the time, and the prospects of the campaign: "Instead of having magazines filled with provisions, we have a scanty pittance scattered here and there in the different States—Instead of having our arsenals well supplied with military stores, they are poorly provided, and the workmen all leaving them—Instead of having the various articles of Field equipage in readiness to deliver, the Quartermaster-General (as the denier resort, according to his acct.) is but now applying to the several States to provide these things for their troops respectively. Instead of having a regular system of transportation upon credit—or funds in the Quartermaster's hands to defray the contingent Expenses of it, we have neither the one nor the other; and all that business, or a great part of it being done by military Impress, we are daily and hourly oppressing the people,—souring their tempers, and alienating their affection—Instead of having the Regiments compleated to the new establishment (and which ought to have been so by the — of — agreeable to the requisitions of Congress), scarce any state in the Union has, at this hour, an eighth part of its quota in the field—and little prospect, that I can see, of ever getting more than half.—In a word—instead of having everything in readiness to take the Field, we have nothing—and instead of having the prospect of a glorious offensive campaign before us, we have a bewildered and gloomy defensive one—unless we should receive a powerful aid of ships — Land Troops—and money from our generous allies—& these, at present, are too contingent to build upon."

FRIDAY, MAY 11.

At New Windsor: "My public letters to Congress will have informed you of the situation of this army, and I have no scruple in giving it as my decided opn., that, unless a capital change takes place soon, it will be impossible for me to maintain our Posts, and keep the army from dispersing."—*Washington to General Sullivan*.

MONDAY, MAY 14.

At New Windsor: "I have had the honor of receiving your Excellency's letter of the 11th instant. Give me leave

to congratulate you on your safe arrival, and your appointment to the command of his Most Christian Majesty's fleet and sea forces upon these coasts. . . . I have appointed Monday, the 21st of this month, for the time of our interview at Weathersfield."— *Washington to Count de Barras*.

"*Newport, May 11th.*—I have the honor to announce to your Excellency my arrival at Boston, on the 6th of this month, in the frigate Concord; the King having appointed me to the command of his squadron in these seas. I arrived here yesterday. The Count de Rochambeau has communicated to me the letter, which he had the honor to write to your Excellency, requesting an interview. When he shall receive your answer, we will conform to your decision. I am very impatient to have the honor of making an acquaintance with you, and to assure you that I have nothing so much at heart as to render myself serviceable to the King and to the United States."— *Count de Barras to Washington*.

Count de Barras was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Admiral de Ternay, which occurred at Newport, December 15, 1780. During the interval the command of the squadron had devolved on the Chevalier Destouches.

#### TUESDAY, MAY 15.

At New Windsor: "For the honor conferred on me by the President and Fellows of the University of Yale College, by the degree of Doctor of Laws, my warmest thanks are offered; and the polite manner, in which you are pleased to request my acceptance of this distinguished mark of their favor, demands my grateful acknowledgments."— *Washington to Ezra Styles, President of Yale College*.

#### WEDNESDAY, MAY 16.

At West Point: "*May 16th.*—Went to the Posts at West Point—received a particular acct. of the surprize of Colo Greene & the loss we sustained."— *Washington's Journal*.

Colonel Christopher Greene, of Rhode Island, in command of an outpost on the Croton River, not far from Pine's Bridge, was surprised early in the morning of the 18th by a band of Tories under Colonel Delancey. "They first attacked Col. Greene's and Major Flagg's quarters, and killed the Major when in bed. The Colonel being badly wounded in the house, was carried into the woods and barbarously murdered [*Thacher*]." Greene, in the words of Irving, was "a true soldier of the Revolution; he had served at



Lexington and Bunker's Hill; followed Arnold through the Kennebec wilderness to Quebec fought under the walls of that city; distinguished himself by his defence of Fort Mercer on the Delaware, and by his kind treatment of his vanquished and wounded antagonist, Colonel Donop. How different the treatment experienced by him at the hands of his tory countrymen!"

THURSDAY, MAY 17.

At New Windsor: "The Count de Rochambeau having received despatches from the court of France by his son, the Viscount de Rochambeau, on the 6th instant, has requested an interview with me. I have appointed the place of meeting at Weathersfield, on Monday next, for which purpose I shall set out hence to-morrow. I am in hopes, that we shall be able, from the intelligence received, to settle a definitive plan of the campaign."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

At the Hartford conference (September 21, 1780) it had been decided to send a trusty messenger to the French court to hasten the despatch of reinforcements, and the Viscount de Rochambeau, who was serving on the staff of his father, was selected for the mission. The viscount reached Boston on his return, May 6, bringing news of the sailing from Brest, on March 22, of the Count de Grasse with a strong squadron escorting a convoy of transports, laden with supplies. All the restrictions imposed upon the Count de Rochambeau by De Sartine, the former Minister of Marine, had also been removed, the new ministry giving him full power to act as he thought best.

FRIDAY, MAY 18.

Leaves New Windsor: "May 18th.—Set out this day for the Interview at Weathersfield with the Count de Rochambeau & Admiral Barras.—reached Morgans Tavern 43 miles from Fishkill Landing after dining at Colo. Vandebergs."—*Washington's Journal.*

SATURDAY, MAY 19.

At Wethersfield, Connecticut: "May 19th.—Breakfasted at Litchfield—dined at Farmington—& lodged at Wethersfield at the House of Joseph Webb Esqr. (the Quarters wch were taken for me and my suit)."—*Washington's Journal.*

"Hartford, May 29, 1781.—On Saturday the 19th inst. his excellency General Washington, accompanied by Gen. Knox, Gen. Du Portail, and their respective suites, arrived at Wethersfield; being escorted into town by a number of gentlemen from Hartford and Wethersfield. As he dismounted at his quarters he was saluted by the discharge of thirteen cannon, by the corps of artillery, under the command of Cap. Frederick Bull. On Monday the 21st inst. his excellency the Count de Rochambeau, commanding the army of his most Christian Majesty at Newport, Gen. Chatteu, and their suites, arrived at Wethersfield. They were met at Hartford, by his excellency General Washington, the officers of the army, and a number of gentlemen, who accompanied them to Wethersfield, where they were saluted with the discharge of cannon. Every mark of attention and politeness were shewn their excellencies, and the other gentlemen of the allied armies while attending the convention."—*Connecticut Historical Collections*, p. 55.

SUNDAY, MAY 20.

At Wethersfield: "May 20th.—Had a good deal of private conversation with Gov<sup>r</sup> Trumbull who gave it to me as his opinion that if any important offensive operation should be undertaken he had little doubt of our obtaining Men & Provision adequate to our wants."—*Washington's Journal*.

"Lord's Day, May twentieth.—Went with Capt. Fred. Bull in a carriage to Wethersfield—attended divine service with General Washington per tot diem. Mr. Marsh preached. Mat. 7: 8—blessed are the poor of spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven."—*Diary of Jonathan Trumbull*.

MONDAY, MAY 21.

At Wethersfield: "May 21st.—The Count de Rochambeau with the Chevr de Chastellux arrived about noon—the appearance of the British fleet (under Adml Arbuthnot) off Block Island prevented the attendance of the Count de Barras."—*Washington's Journal*.

TUESDAY, MAY 22.

At Wethersfield: "May 22d.—Fixed with Count de Rochambeau upon a plan of Campaign—in substance as follows—That the French Land force (except 200 men) should march so soon as the Squadron could sail for Boston—to the North River—& there, in conjunction with the American, to commence an operation against New York. . . . or



to extend our views to the Southward as circumstances and a naval superiority might render more necessary and eligible."—*Washington's Journal*.

"Tuesday, twenty-second. Fair—dined with General Washington, Rochambeau &c. at Stillman's."—*Diary of Jonathan Trumbull*.

#### WEDNESDAY, MAY 23.

At Wethersfield: "*May 23d.*—Count de Rochambeau set out on his return to Newport, while I prepared and forwarded dispatches to the Governors of the four New England states calling upon them in earnest & pointed terms, to compleat their Continental Battalions for the Campaign."—*Washington's Journal*.

"Wednesday, twenty-third. Fair—dined at Colyer's with the Generals—supra public expense. Guards—Artillery."—*Diary of Jonathan Trumbull*.

#### THURSDAY, MAY 24.

Leaves Wethersfield: "*May 24th.*—Set out on my return to New Windsor—dined at Farmington and lodged at Litchfield."—*Washington's Journal*.

#### FRIDAY, MAY 25.

At New Windsor: "*May 25th.*—Breakfasted at Squire Cogswells—dined at Colo. Vandeburgs & reached head Quarters about sunset."—*Washington's Journal*.

"To the Expence of a Journey to Weathersfield for the purpose of an Interview with the French Genl. & Adm. . . 8376½ Doll<sup>rs</sup>. . . To Specie expended in this Trip. . . £35.18.0."—*Washington's Accounts*.

#### SATURDAY, MAY 26.

At New Windsor: "*May 26th.*—Received a Letter from the Honble Jno. Laurens minister from the United States of America at the Court of Versailles—informing me that the sum of 6,000,000 of Livres was granted as a donation to this country—to be applied in part to the purchase of



arms—cloaths—&c. for the American Troops and the balance to my orders.”—*Washington's Journal*.

The provision of this donation, that the balance, after paying for the military articles purchased in Europe should be subject to the order of the Commander-in-Chief, aroused the jealousy of Congress, the members of which were not satisfied that the head of the army should possess such an agent, in addition to his military power. But fortunately M. de la Luzerne discovered in Count de Vergennes's letter to him, that General Washington, “or some other person,” was indicated. The knowledge of this fact quieted the anxieties of Congress and relieved Washington from a task which he had no desire to perform and which would have excited the jealousy of his enemies. Prior to this date, France had donated to the United States the sum of three millions of livres, making, with the six millions mentioned above, nine millions in all, or about one million eight hundred thousand dollars.

FRIDAY, JUNE 15.

At New Windsor: Issues an order, congratulating the army on the successes of the American arms under General Greene in South Carolina, reciting the forced evacuation of Camden by Lord Rawdon, the surrender of Orangeburgh to General Sumter, of Fort Mott to General Marion, and Fort Granby to Lieutenant-Colonel Lee; and declaring these brilliant successes to be a presage that, with proper exertions, the enemy would soon be expelled from every part of the continent.

MONDAY, JUNE 18.

At New Windsor: “*June 18th.*—Brigaded the Troops, and made an arrangement of the army, which is to march for the new Camp in three divisions—the 1st on Thursday the 21st.—the 2d on the 23d.—and the 3d on the 24th. inst.”—*Washington's Journal*.

“*June 23d.*—The army is now concentrated to a point in this place [near Peekskill], and encamped in two lines, and in the same regular order that the troops usually form in a line of battle, occupying a very large extent of ground and covering fields of corn, grain and meadows. Our brigade is stationed on the left of the second line. The campaign is now about to be opened, and we expect in a few days that the French Army will form a junction with us to co-operate with our troops.”—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

MONDAY, JUNE 25.

At Peekskill: "*June 25th.*—Joined the army at its Encampment at Peekskill—Mrs. Washington set out at the same time towards Virginia. . . . Had an interview with Govr. Clinton, Lieut. Govr Courtlandt & Generals Schuyler & Tenbrook."—*Washington's Journal*.

"The Van Cortlandt House, two miles east of Peekskill, erected in 1773, in the midst of one of the fine estates of that family, was occupied by Washington, for a brief space, as head-quarters."—*Lossing's Field-Book*, i. 738.

TUESDAY, JUNE 26.

At Peekskill: *Orderly Book*. — "The Commander-in-Chief has the pleasure of announcing to the army the approach of the troops of his most Christian Majesty under the command of his Excellency Lieutenant-General Count de Rochambeau."

THURSDAY, JUNE 28.

At Peekskill: "I am extremely obliged to you for the assistance you have already afforded us in the article of flour. Without that aid, we should have been already distressed; and I must confess to you, that I see no prospect of being supplied, but through your means, as, by the last letters from the President and Council of Pennsylvania, I could expect little or nothing from that quarter."—*Washington to Robert Morris*.

"Not being prepared in my official character with funds or means of accomplishing the supplies you need, I have written to General Schuyler and to Mr. Thomas Lowrey in New Jersey, requesting their immediate exertions to procure upon their own credit one thousand barrels of flour each, and send the same forward in parcels as fast as procured to camp, deliverable to your Excellency's order; and I have pledged myself to pay them in hard money for the costs and charges, within a month, six weeks, or two months. I shall make it a point to procure the money, being determined never to make an engagement that cannot be fulfilled; for if by any means I should fail in this respect, I will quit my office as useless from that moment."—*Robert Morris to Washington*, May 29.



## FRIDAY, JUNE 29.

At Peekskill: "On the 29th [of June], I got on horseback to see some barracks which had been occupied by an American regiment during the winter; my purpose was to establish a hospital there. On the road I met General Washington, who was going to review a part of his troops. He recognized me, stopped and invited me to dine with him at three o'clock. I repaired thither; there were twenty-five covers used by some officers of the army and a lady to whom the house belonged in which the general lodged. We dined under the tent. I was placed alongside of the general. One of his aides-de-camp did the honors. The table was served in the American style and pretty abundantly: vegetables, roast beef, lamb, chickens, salad dressed with nothing but vinegar, green peas, puddings and some pie, a kind of tart, greatly in use in England and among the Americans, all this being put upon the table at the same time. They gave us on the same plate beef, green peas, lamb, &c."—*Diary of Claude Blanchard*, p. 115.

## SATURDAY, JUNE 30.

At Peekskill: "In the fullest confidence I inform you, that I intend to make an attempt by surprise upon the enemy's posts on the north end of York Island on Monday night."—*Washington to Governor Clinton*.

## MONDAY, JULY 2.

On the march to Valentine's Hill: "*July 2d.*—At three o'clock this morning I commenced my march with the Continental Army in order to cover the detached Troops—and improve any advantages which might be gained by them—made a small halt at the New bridge over Croton abt. 9 miles from Peekskill—another at the Church by Tarry Town till Dusk (9 miles more) and completed the remaining part of the mar[ch] in the night—arriving at Valentine's Hill (at Mile square) about sunrise. Our Baggage & Tents



were left standing at the Camp at Peekskill."—*Washington's Journal*.

The French army left Newport June 9, and after halting at Providence eight days, again took up the line of march, passing through Plainfield, Windham, Bolton, Hartford, Farmington, Newtown, and Ridgebury, Connecticut, arriving at Bedford, New York, on July 2. From the latter place, the legion of Lauzun made a forced march in advance and reached East Chester very early in the morning of July 3.

#### TUESDAY, JULY 3.

At Valentine's Hill: "*July 3d.*—I spent good part of the day in reconnoitering the Enemys works.—In the afternoon we retired to Valentine's Hill [four miles from Kingsbridge] & lay upon our arms—Duke Lauzen & Waterbury lay on the East Side of the Brunx river on the East Chester road."—*Washington's Journal*.

"*Valentine's Hill*, eight o'clock, P.M., 3 July, 1781.—The operations of this day are over, and I am sorry to say, that I have not had the happiness to succeed to my wishes, although I think very essential benefit will result to our future operations from the opportunity I have had, in a very full manner, to reconnoitre the position and works of the enemy on the north end of York Island. . . . The American army and the Legion of the Duke de Lauzun will march to-morrow to White Plains. If it will be convenient to you, I shall be happy to receive your Excellency with your troops at that place the day after to-morrow."—*Washington to Count de Rochambeau*.

#### WEDNESDAY, JULY 4.

Near Dobbs' Ferry, Phillipsburg: "*July 4th.*—Marched & took a position a little to the left of Dobbs ferry & marked a Camp for the French Army upon our left.—Duke Lauzen marched to the White pln. & Waterbury to Horseneck."—*Washington's Journal*.

"*North Castle*, July 4th.—I arrived here with the first brigade yesterday at nine o'clock in the morning. The second brigade, by a forced march, joined me in the afternoon; and we are now all together ready to execute your orders. I wait with the greatest impatience to hear from you and the Duke de Lauzun."—*Rochambeau to Washington*.

## THURSDAY, JULY 5.

Visits the French army at North Castle: "*July 5.*—General Washington came to see M. de Rochambeau. Notified of his approach, we mounted our horses and went out to meet him. He received us with the affability which is natural to him and depicted on his countenance. He is a very fine looking man, but did not surprise me as much as I expected from the descriptions I had heard of him. His physiognomy is noble in the highest degree, and his manners are those of one perfectly accustomed to society, quite a rare thing certainly in America. He paid a visit to our camp, dined with us, and later we escorted him several miles on his return and took leave of him."—*Diary of Baron Cromot du Bourg*, Magazine of American History, iv.

On the 6th of July the French troops broke camp at North Castle and marched to make a junction with the main body of the American army at Phillipsburg, twelve miles from Kingsbridge. The junction was made in the evening, on the grounds which had been marked out on the left of the American lines, the right of which rested on the Hudson, near Dobbs' Ferry. The line of the French army extended to the Bronx River, with a valley of considerable extent between the two armies. Washington made his headquarters at the house of Joseph Appleby, the "Appleby Place," on the cross-road from Dobbs' Ferry to White Plains, and about three and a half miles from the ferry. The house, which was destroyed some years ago, stood on a little elevation, still called Washington's Hill. Rochambeau's quarters were at the Odell house, still standing, about a mile and a half east of the "Appleby Place."

## FRIDAY, JULY 6.

At Phillipsburg: *Orderly Book*.—"The Commander-in-chief with pleasure embraces the earliest public opportunity of expressing his thanks to his Excellency, the Count de Rochambeau, for the unremitting zeal with which he has prosecuted his march, in order to form the long wished-for junction between the French and American forces; an event, which must afford the highest degree of pleasure to every friend of his country, and from which the happiest consequences are to be expected."



## SATURDAY, JULY 7.

At Phillipsburg: "July 7th.—Our army was drawn up in a line and reviewed by General Rochambeau, Commander in Chief of the French army, with his Excellency General Washington, and other general officers."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

## SUNDAY, JULY 8.

At Phillipsburg: "July 8.—In the afternoon of the 8th General Washington reviewed the two armies; we went first to the American army, which may have amounted to four thousand and some hundred men at the most. It seemed to me to be in as good order as possible for an army composed of men without uniforms and with narrow resources. The Rhode Island regiment, among others, is extremely fine. We went thence to the French army, which, though unpretending, has quite another style. The Americans admit it; they all seemed to be delighted as well as their General."—*Diary of Baron Cromot du Bourg*.

"July 9th.—Received a Letter from the Marqs de la Fayette informing me of Cornwallis's retreat to Williamsburg."—*Washington's Journal*.

## TUESDAY, JULY 10.

At Phillipsburg: "July 10th.—Another review took place in presence of the French ambassador, from Philadelphia, after which the French army passed a review in presence of the general officers of both armies."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

"The heat was excessive; it was not moderated until the 10th by a great rain which lasted all night and passed through all the tents. I dined that day at the intendant's [M. de Tarlé] with General Washington. He was rather grave; it was said that there had been a little misunderstanding between him and General Rochambeau. General Washington's army was encamped near ours; it was about 4000 men."—*Diary of Claude Blanchard*, p. 120.

## SATURDAY, JULY 14.

At Phillipsburg: "July 14.—I went with M. de Rocham-



beau to dine with General Lincoln, where also were General Washington, Messrs. de Viosmenil, de Chatelux and de Lauzun. There were conferences enough to give me the impression that within a very short time some movement will be made: in fact at five o'clock in the afternoon M. de Rochambeau made his preparations for a march."—*Diary of Baron Cromot du Bourg.*

"July 14th.—Near 5000 men being ordered to march for Kingsbridge, to cover and secure a reconnoitre of the Enemy's works on the No. end of York Island, Harlaem river, & the Sound, were prevented doing so by incessant rain."—*Washington's Journal.*

WEDNESDAY, JULY 18.

At Phillipsburg: "July 18th.—I passed the North River, with Count de Rochambeau—Genl. de Beville, his Qr. Mr. Genl. & Genl. Duportail in order to reconnoitre the Enemy Posts and Encampments at the North end of York Island—and took an Escort of 150 Men from the Jersey Troops on the other side."—*Washington's Journal.*

SATURDAY, JULY 21.

On the march to Kingsbridge: "July 21st.—Again ordered abt. 5000 men to be ready to march at 8 o'clock [in the evening], for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy's Posts at Kingsbridge—and to cut off, if possible, such of Delaney's Corps as should be found without their lines. At the hour appointed the march commenced in 4 columns on different roads. . . . At Mile Square (Valentine's hill) the left column of the American Troops and right of the French formed their junction, as did the left of the French also by *mistake*, as it was intended it should cross the Brunx by Garrineaus, & recross it at William's bridge. The whole Army (Parson's division first) arrived at Kingsbridge [fourteen miles from New York] about daylight & formed on the heights back of Fort Independence—extending towards delancy's Mills."—*Washington's Journal.*

## SUNDAY, JULY 22.

At Kingsbridge: "July 22d.—After having fixed upon the ground, & formed our line, I began, with General Rochambeau and the Engineers, to reconnoitre the enemy's position and works."—*Washington's Journal*.

"While near the enemy's lines, the army was drawn up in a line of battle, and General Washington, General Rochambeau, and all the general officers and engineers, were employed in reconnoitering the different positions of the enemy's works in all directions."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

## MONDAY, JULY 23.

On the march to Phillipsburg: "July 23d.—Went upon Frogs Neck to see what communication could be had with Long Isld, the Engineers attending with Instrumts, to measure the distance across, found it to be — yards. Having finished the reconnoitre without damage—a few harmless shot being fired at us—we marched back about Six o'clock by the same road we went down & a reversed order of March, and arrived in Camp about Midnight."—*Washington's Journal*.

"July 23.—At half-past five in the morning we mounted again to make a reconnoissance of a part of Long Island which is separated from the continent by the Sound; several vessels which were there fired upon us without doing us any harm. We returned thence to Morrisania to examine again a part of the island on our way back. I need not mention the sang froid of General Washington, it is well known; but this great man is a thousand times more noble and splendid at the head of his army than at any other time."—*Diary of Baron Cromot du Bourg*.

On the 23d of July, Washington and Rochambeau dined at the Van Cortlandt house, about one mile north of Kingsbridge.

## MONDAY, JULY 30.

At Phillipsburg: "I think we have already effected one part of the plan of the campaign settled at Weathersfield; that is, giving a substantial relief to the southern States, by obliging the enemy to recall a considerable part of their force from thence. Our views must now be turned towards



endeavouring to expel them totally from those States, if we find ourselves incompetent to the siege of New York.”  
— *Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

“August 4, 1781.—I have seen General Washington, that most singular man—the soul and support of one of the greatest revolutions that has ever happened, or can happen. . . . He is of tall and noble stature, well proportioned, a fine, cheerful, open countenance, a simple and modest carriage; and his whole mien has something in it that interests the French, the Americans, and even enemies themselves in his favor. . . . He has ever shown himself superior to fortune, and in the most trying adversity has discovered resources till then unknown; and, as if his abilities only increased and dilated at the prospect of difficulty, he is never better supplied than when he seems destitute of every thing, nor have his arms ever been so fatal to his enemies, as at the very instant when they had thought they had crushed him for ever. . . . In all these extensive states they consider him in the light of a beneficent God, dispensing peace and happiness around him. Old men, women and children, press about him when he accidentally passes along, and think themselves happy, once in their lives, to have seen him—they follow him through the towns with torches, and celebrate his arrival by public illuminations. The Americans, that cool and sedate people, who in the midst of their most trying difficulties, have attended only to the directions and impulses of plain method and common sense, are roused, animated, and inflamed at the very mention of his name: and the first songs that sentiment or gratitude has dictated, have been to celebrate General Washington.”—*Abbé Robin, chaplain of the regiment Soissonnais.*

MONDAY, AUGUST 6.

At Phillipsburg: “August 6th.—The Commander in Chief, attended by a number of the General Officers, reconnoitred towards King’s Bridge, covered by strong detachments of cavalry and infantry.”—*Heath’s Memoirs.*

SATURDAY, AUGUST 11.

At Phillipsburg: “August 11th.—Robt. Morris Esqr. Superintendent of Finance & Richd. Peters Esq. a member of the Board of War, arrived at camp to fix with me the number of men necessary for the next campaign—and to make the consequent arrangements for their establishment and Support.”—*Washington’s Journal.*



## TUESDAY, AUGUST 14.

At Phillipsburg: "August 14th.—Received dispatches from the Count de Barras, announcing the intended departure of the Count de Grasse from Cape Francois with between 25 & 29 Sail of the line & 3200 land Troops on the 3d Instant for Chesapeake bay. . . . Matters having now come to a crisis, and a decisive plan to be determined on—I was obliged, from the shortness of Count de Grasse's promised stay on this coast—the apparent disinclination in their naval officers to force the harbour of New York, and the feeble compliance of the States to my requisitions for men, hitherto, & little prospect of greater exertion in future, to give up all idea of attacking New York; & instead thereof to remove the French Troops & a detachment from the American Army to the Head of Elk, to be transported to Virginia for the purpose of cooperating with the force from the West Indies against the Troops in that State."—*Washington's Journal*.

## WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 15.

At Phillipsburg: "The Concorde frigate has arrived at Newport from Count de Grasse. He was to leave St. Domingo the 3d of this month, with a fleet of between twenty-five and twenty-nine sail of the line, and a considerable body of land forces. His destination is immediately for the Chesapeake; so that he will either be there by the time this reaches you, or you may look for him every moment."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette*.

## THURSDAY, AUGUST 16.

At Phillipsburg: "August 16.—In the morning the regiment of Bourbonnais manœuvred before General Washington who seemed well satisfied. In the afternoon he saw that of Deux Ponts which was no less successful."—*Diary of Baron Cromot du Bourg*.

"August 16th.—Letters from the Marqs. de la Fayette & others, inform that Lord Cornwallis with the Troops from Hampton Road, had proceeded up York River & landed at York and Gloucester Towns where they were throwing up works on the 6th inst."—*Washington's Journal*.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 17.

At Phillipsburg: "In consequence of the despatches received from your Excellency by the frigate *La Concorde*, it has been judged expedient to give up for the present the enterprise against New York, and turn our attention towards the south, with a view, if we should not be able to attempt Charleston itself, to recover and secure the States of Virginia, North Carolina, and the country of South Carolina and Georgia. We may add a further inducement for giving up the first-mentioned enterprise, which is the arrival of a reinforcement of near three thousand Hessian recruits. For this purpose we have determined to remove the whole of the French army, and as large a detachment of the American as can be spared, to the Chesapeake, to meet your Excellency there."—*Washington to Count de Grasse*.

"August 17th.—The whole of the French army, with the two regiments of New Jersey, first regiment of New-York, Col. Hazen's regiment, Col. Olney's regiment of Rhode Island, Col. Lamb's regiment of artillery, and the light troops under the command of Col. Scammel, were detached for the expedition against Lord Cornwallis, and the army under his command, at York-Town, in Virginia."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 19.

Leaves Phillipsburg: "August 19th.—The want of Horses, or bad condition of them in the French Army delayed the March till this day. . . . Passed Sing Sing with the American column—The French column marched by the way of North castle Crompond & Pines bridge being near ten miles further."—*Washington's Journal*.

"August 19th.—About noon, his Excellency Gen. Washington left the army, setting his face towards his native State, in full confidence, to use his own words, 'with a common blessing,' of capturing Lord Cornwallis and his army."—*Heath's Memoirs*.



## MONDAY, AUGUST 20.

At King's Ferry: "August 20th.—The head of the Americans arrived at King's ferry about ten o'clock and immediately began to cross."—*Washington's Journal*.

During the crossing of the allied armies at King's Ferry, Washington had his head-quarters at the Joshua Hett Smith house, about two and a half miles below Stony Point, the western landing of the ferry. The house, which possesses historical interest, from being the place at which André and Arnold had their meeting (September 22, 1780), is still standing. It is beautifully situated on the ridge of a hill which commands an extensive view of the Hudson.

## TUESDAY, AUGUST 21.

At King's Ferry: "August 21st.—In the course of this day the whole of the American Troop, all their baggage, artillery & stores crossed the river."—*Washington's Journal*.

"On the 21st. the [French] army left Northcastle. In the evening I received orders from the general [Rochambeau] to carry a letter to General Washington, who was already on the other side of the North river, where we also were beginning to form some establishments. The Americans were already much farther off than I had supposed; I joined them nevertheless: General Washington was occupying Smith's house, famous owing to the fact that there André and Arnold had held their meeting. General Washington was taking tea; I took it with him."—*Diary of Claude Blanchard*, p. 127.

## WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22.

At King's Ferry: "August 22d, 23d, 24th, & 25th—Employed in transporting the French Army—its baggage and stores over the river."—*Washington's Journal*.

"August 22.—The troops arrived in quite good season at their camp [at King's Ferry], which was pitched on the brow of a hill overlooking the North River. They remained there the 23d and 24th. During this time arrangements were made for the passage of the River by all the trains and troops, quite a difficult matter, there being but few boats. August 23.—As the Headquarters remained at Peskill [Peekskill], there being at King's Ferry only the single house which belonged to the man who owns the Ferry, M. de Rochambeau was not willing to pass so near West Point as nine miles, without seeing it. He left by boat at eight o'clock in the morn-



ing to visit it with General Washington and several officers."—*Diary of Baron Cromot du Bourg.*

FRIDAY, AUGUST 24.

At King's Ferry: "From the progress already made in our march towards the Chesapeake, it is estimated that the troops may arrive at the Head of Elk by the 8th of September."—*Washington to Count de Grasse.*

"On the 25th. I went myself to the spot [King's Ferry] and saw many of the troops and much baggage cross. General Washington was there; they had provided a pavilion for him, from which he examined everything very attentively. He seemed, in this crossing, in the march of our troops towards the Chesapeake bay and in our reunion with M. de Grasse, to see a better destiny arise, when at this period of the war, exhausted, destitute of resources, he needed a great success which might revive courage and hope. He pressed my hand with much affection when he left us and crossed the river himself. It was about two o'clock. He then rejoined his army, which had commenced its march in the morning, as also the first division of our army."—*Diary of Claude Blanchard.*

MONDAY, AUGUST 27.

At Chatham, New Jersey: "I must entreat you, if possible, to procure one month's pay in specie for the detachment, which I have under my command. Part of those troops have not been paid anything for a long time past, and have upon several occasions shown marks of great discontent. The service they are going upon is disagreeable to the northern regiments; but I make no doubt that a *douceur* of a little hard money would put them in proper temper. . . . The American detachment will assemble in this neighborhood to-day; the French army to-morrow."—*Washington to Robert Morris.*

"When they arrived at Philadelphia, the Army discovered great discontent at not receiving certain arrears of pay long withheld from them. It was thought neither prudent or safe to proceed farther without making pay at least in part. Money was also wanted to hire vessels & other means to proceed down the Chesapeake Bay. The Treasury was empty—Congress had no means to raise the money—requisitions had been voted in vain. In this exigency the vigorous exertions of the Hon. Robert Morris the Super-

intendent of Finances, relieved their distress. He went out among his mercantile & other Friends, and borrowed on his own responsibility upwards of 30,000 Dollars which answered every purpose, and the Army soon appeared before York Town."—*MS. of Elias Boudinot*.

Twenty thousand hard dollars of this amount was borrowed from Count de Rochambeau, which Mr. Morris engaged to replace by the 1st of October. The arrival of Colonel Laurens at Boston from his mission to France, on the 25th of August, with two millions and a half of livres, part of the donation of six millions, enabled the Superintendent of Finance to fulfil his engagement.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 28.

At New Brunswick, New Jersey: "Aug. 28.—To Expenditures on my March from y<sup>e</sup> White Plains, or Dobb's Ferry by y<sup>e</sup> way of King's ferry to Brunswick inclusive . . . £38.15.0."—*Washington's Accounts*.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 29.

At Trenton, New Jersey: "September 1st.—Letters were received from Gen. Washington, dated at Trenton, the 29th ult."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"August 30th.—I set out for Philadelphia to arrange matters there—provide vessels—& hasten the transportation of the Ordnance Stores, &c.—directing before I set out, the Secd. York Regiment (which had not all arrived from Albany before we left King's ferry) to follow with the boats—Intrenching Tools &c. Arrived at Philadelphia to dinner and immediately hastened up all the vessels that could be procured—but finding them inadequate to the purpose of transporting both Troops and Stores, Count de Rochambeau and myself concluded it would be best to let the Troops march by land to the Head of Elk, & gave directions accordingly to all but the 2d York regiment, which was ordered (with its baggage) to come down in the Batteaux they had in charge to Christiana bridge."—*Washington's Journal*.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 30.

At Philadelphia: "On Thursday, the 30th of August, at one o'clock in the afternoon, his Excellency the Commander-in-chief of the American armies, accompanied by the Generals Rochambeau and Chastellux, with their respective Suites, arrived in this city. The General was received by the militia light horse in the suburbs, and escorted into the



town; he stopped at the City Tavern and received the visit of several gentlemen; from thence he proceeded to the house of the Superintendent of Finance [Robert Morris], where he now has his head-quarters. About three o'clock he went up to the State House, and paid his respects to Congress. He then returned to the Superintendent's, where his Excellency the President of Congress [Thomas M'Kean] with the Generals before mentioned, General Knox, General Sullivan, and several other gentlemen, had the pleasure of dining with him. After dinner some vessels belonging to this port, and those lying in the stream, fired salutes to the different toasts which were drank. In the evening the city was illuminated, and his Excellency walked through some of the principal streets, attended by a numerous concourse of people, eagerly pressing to see their beloved General."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, September 1, 1781.

"August 30th, 1781.—Went out to meet his Excellency General Washington, who arrived in this city about one o'clock, amidst the universal acclamations of the citizens, who displayed every mark of joy on the occasion. His Excellency alighted at the City Tavern, received the compliments of many gentlemen, who went out to escort him, and of others who came there to pay him their respects, and then adjourned to my house [South Front Street] with his suit, Count de Rochambeau, the Chevalier Chastellux, General Knox, General Moultrie, and others, to dinner. The owners of several ships in the harbor ordered them out into the stream, and fired salutes, whilst we drank, The United States, His Most Christian Majesty, His Catholic Majesty, The United Provinces, The Allied Armies, Count de Grasse's speedy arrival, &c &c."—*Diary of Robert Morris*, "Diplomatic Correspondence," xi. 462.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 2.

At Philadelphia: "Should the retreat of Lord Cornwallis by water be cut off, I am persuaded you will do all in your power to prevent his escape by land. May that great felicity be reserved for you."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette*.

"A certain warrior [Marquis de Lafayette] at the head of twelve or fifteen hundred men, has found means to keep his ground all this time in Virginia; the impetuous Arnold, and the active Cornwallis, not daring to



attempt anything against him. You will doubtless suppose, that this warrior is one of those men, whom long experience and brilliant successes, have rendered formidable to the enemy. This leader, I assure you, is a man of only twenty-four years of age, who has left the arms of an affectionate and amiable wife, a residence among pleasures and high life, where his name, and an alliance with an illustrious family, opened a great way to the greatest dignities, to come to this country, and, under the American FABRUS, defend the sacred cause of liberty, and learn to serve his king and country."—*Abbé Robin*.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 3.

At Philadelphia: "On Monday and Tuesday last the French army, under the command of his Excellency Count de Rochambeau, passed in review before his Excellency the President and the Honorable the Congress of the United States, at the State House in this city. The President was covered, his Excellency General Washington, Commander-in-Chief, the Count de Rochambeau, etc., stood on his left hand, uncovered."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, September 8, 1781.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4.

At Philadelphia: "In the evening [September 4] I repaired to the house of M. de la Luzerne [north side of Chestnut Street, between Sixth and Seventh Streets], who was giving a great dinner to the chief officer of the Congress, General Washington, and the principal officers of our troops."—*Diary of Claude Blanchard*, p. 136.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5.

Leaves Philadelphia: "September 5th.—The rear of the French army having reached Philadelphia, and the Americans having passed it, the stores having got up and every thing in a tolerable train here; I left this city for the head of Elk to hasten the embarkation at that place, and on my way—(at Chester)—received the agreeable news of the safe arrival of the Count de Grasse in the Bay of Chesapeake with 28 sail of the line and four frigates, with 3000 land Troops which were to be immediately debarked at Jamestown and form a junction with the American army under

the command of the Marquis de la Fayette."—*Washington's Journal*.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6.

At Head of Elk, Maryland: "I have been honored by your Excellency's favor of the 2d instant, and do myself the pleasure to felicitate you on the happy arrival of so formidable a fleet of his Most Christian Majesty in the Bay of Chesapeake under your Excellency's command."—*Washington to Count de Grasse*.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7.

At Head of Elk: "I shall set out for the theatre of action to-morrow, and hope to have the pleasure of communicating with you personally in a few days, and of making every arrangement, in conjunction with the admiral, which may be deemed necessary."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette*.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8.

At Baltimore, Maryland: "General Washington accompanied by the Count Rochambeau, general Hand, major general baron Viomenil, brigadier general Chatelux and Gen. Clinton passed through town, the eighth September, most of the allied army going by water from Elkton to Annapolis. On this occasion the town was illuminated and an address from the citizens and inhabitants, was presented to the commander in chief, which he answered."—*Annals of Baltimore*.

"*Baltimore*, September 11, 1781.—Last Saturday afternoon [September 8] his excellency general Washington (accompanied by adjutant general Hand, and other officers of distinction) arrived at the Fountain-Inn, in this town, on his way to Virginia. His excellency was received in this vicinity, and escorted to his quarters, by Captain Moore's troop of light dragoons, where he was most respectfully complimented by a number of gentlemen. The Baltimore artillery companies gave his excellency a handsome salute, and the inhabitants in general, seemed to vie with each other in testifying their respect and affection for his person and character. In the evening every part of the town was elegantly illuminated. Very early the next



morning his excellency (with his attendants) proceeded on his journey, the object of which is obvious, and, undoubtedly, of the last importance."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, September 18, 1781.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9.

At Mount Vernon, Virginia: "September 9th—I reached my own Seat at Mount Vernon (distance 120 miles from the H'd of Elk) where I staid till the 12th, and in three days afterwards—that is on the 14th—reached Williamsburg."—*Washington's Journal*.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 10.

At Mount Vernon: "We are thus far on our way to you. The Count de Rochambeau has just arrived. General Chastellux will be here, and we propose, after resting tomorrow, to be at Fredericksburg on the night of the 12th. The 13th we shall reach New Castle; and the next day we expect to have the pleasure of seeing you at your encampment [at Williamsburg]."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette*.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11.

At Mount Vernon: "I intended on passing thro' Maryland, to have done myself the pleasure to have called on your Excellency, but circumstances pressing upon me, as I advanced on my march, & Time slipping too fast from me, I found a necessity of getting on with that rapidity as has obliged me to proceed without calling at Annapolis."—*Washington to Governor Lee*.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 14.

At Williamsburg, Virginia: "Sept. 14th.—In the evening about four o'clock twenty-one pieces of cannon were fired on the arrival of his Excellency General George Washington. There was a universal joy amongst our officers and soldiers, especially the French troops, on his arrival."—*Journal of Lieutenant William Feltman*, "Collections, Hist. Soc. of Penna.," 1853.



Washington's head-quarters at Williamsburg were at the *Wythe House*, "a stately colonial mansion, fronting upon a long narrow common, called the Palace Green." The house, a large two-story brick building, is still standing; it was the home of George Wythe, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and sole Chancellor of Virginia for more than twenty years.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17.

Visits Count de Grasse: "*September 17th.*—In company with the Count de Rochambeau, the Chevr Chastellux, Genls. Knox and Duportail, I set out for the interview with the Admiral, and arrived on board the *Ville de Paris* (off Cape Henry) the next day by noon, and having settled most points with him to my satisfaction except not obtaining an assurance of sending ships above York—and one that he could not continue his fleet on this station longer than the first of November, I embarked on board the *Queen Charlotte* (the vessel I went down in), but by hard blowing and contrary winds, did not reach Williamsburg again till the 22d."—*Washington's Journal*.

"*September 25th.*—Admiral de Barras having joined the Count de Grasse with the Squadron and Transports from Rhode Island, and the latter with some Frigates being sent to Baltimore for the remaind<sup>r</sup> of the French army, arrived this day at the usual port of debarkation above the College Creek, and began to land the Troops from them."—*Washington's Journal*.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 28.

On the march to Yorktown: "*September 28th.*—Having debarked all the Troops and their Baggage—marched—and encamped them in Front of the city—and having with some difficulty obtained horses and waggons sufficient to move our field Artillery, Intrenching Tools—and such other articles as were indispensably necessary—we commenced our march for the Investiture of the Enemy at York.—The American Continental, and French troops formed one column on the left—the first in advance—the Militia composed the right column. . . . About noon the head of each column arrived at its ground. . . . The line being formed all

the Troops—officers & men—lay upon their arms during the night.”—*Washington's Journal*.

“On the night of September 28, Washington and his staff bivouacked on the ground in the open air. He slept under a mulberry-tree, the root serving for a pillow.”—*Irving*, iv. 356.

#### SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29.

Before Yorktown: “September 29th.—Moved the American Troop more to the right, and Encamped on the East side of Be[a]ver dam Creek, with a morass in front about cannon shot from the enemy's lines—Spent this day in reconnoitering the enemy's position, & determining upon a plan of attack & approach which must be done without the assistance of shipping above the Town as the Admiral—(notwithstanding my earnest solicitation) declined hazarding any vessells on that station.”—*Washington's Journal*.

#### SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 30.

Before Yorktown: “September 30th.—The enemy abandoned all their exterior works, & the position they had taken without the Town; & retired within their Interior works of defence in the course of last night—immediately upon which we possessed them & made those on our left (with a little alteration) very serviceable to us—We also began two enclosed works on the right of Pidgeon Hill—between that & the ravine above More's Mill.”—*Washington's Journal*.

On the 30th the place was completely invested by the allied armies, their line extending in a semicircle at a distance of about a mile and a quarter from the British works, each wing resting upon the York River. The French occupied the left, the Americans the right, while Count de Grasse with his fleet remained in Lynn Haven Bay, to beat off any naval force which might come to the aid of Cornwallis. On the extreme left of the besieging army were the regiments of Gatinois (Royal Auvergne), Touraine, and Agénois, under the Marquis de St.-Simon, and next to them were the light-infantry regiments of Saintonge, Soissonnais, Royal Deux-Ponts, and Bourbonnais, commanded by the Baron and Viscount Vioménil.



The French artillery and the quarters of General Washington and Count de Rochambeau occupied the centre; and on the right, across a marsh, were the American artillery, under General Knox; the Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania troops, under Steuben; the New York, Rhode Island, and New Jersey troops, with sappers and miners, under General James Clinton; the light infantry, under the Marquis de Lafayette; and the Virginia militia, under Governor Nelson. The quarters of General Lincoln were on the banks of Wormley's Creek, on the extreme right. During the siege the Americans and French, under Generals Choisy and Weedon and the Duke de Lauzun, blockaded Gloucester.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 1.

Before Yorktown: "Oct. 1st.—This afternoon, three o'clock his excellency Gen'l Washington, Gen. Duportail and several other engineers crossed at the mill dam to take a view of the enemy's works. His excellency sent one of his Aides de Camp for Capt. Smith and his guard of fifty men to march in front of his Excellency as a covering party, which we did, and went under cover of a hill, where we posted our guard, when his Excellency Gen'l Washington and Gen'l Duportail with three men of our guard advanced within three hundred yards of the enemy's main works, which is the town of York."—*Journal of Lieutenant William Feltman.*

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6.

Before Yorktown: "October 6th.—Before morning the Trenches were in such forwardness as to cover the men from the enemy's fire—The work was executed with so much secrecy & dispatch that the enemy were, I believe, totally ignorant of our labor till the light of the morning discovered it to them."—*Washington's Journal.*

"The Commander in Chief congratulates the Army upon the late victory obtained over the Enemy at Eutaw Springs in South Carolina [September 8]. He returns his warmest acknowledgements to General Greene for his admirable General Plan of operations, his judicious dispositions on the present Occasion and the exemplary vigor with which he conducted their execution."—*Orderly Book, October 6.*



## SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7.

Before Yorktown: "October 7th and 8th.—Was employed in completing our Parallel—finishing the redoubts in them and establishing Batteries."—*Washington's Journal*.

## TUESDAY, OCTOBER 9.

Before Yorktown: "October 9th.—We erected a battery last night in front of our first parallel, without any annoyance from the enemy. Two or three of our batteries being now prepared to open on the town, his Excellency General Washington put the match to the first gun, and a furious discharge of cannon and mortars immediately followed, and Earl Cornwallis has received his first Salutation."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

"October 9th.—About 3 o'clock P.M. the French opened a battery on our extreme left of 4 sixteen pounders, and six Mortars & Howitzers—and at 5 o'clock an American battery of six 18s & 24s; four Mortars & 2 Howitzers began to play from the extremity of our right.—October 10th—The French opened two batteries on the left of our front parallel. . . . And the Americans two Batteries between those last mentioned & the one on our extreme right.—October 11th—The French opened two other batteries on the left of the parallel."—*Washington's Journal*.

## FRIDAY, OCTOBER 12.

Before Yorktown: "October 12th.—Began our second parallel within about 300 yards (and in some places less) of the enemy's lines—and got it so well advanced in the course of the night as to cover the men before morning."—*Washington's Journal*.

"I cannot but acknowledge the infinite obligations I am under to His Excellency, the Count de Rochambeau, the Marquis St. Simon, commanding the troops from the West Indies, the other general officers, and indeed the officers of every denomination in the French army, for the assistance which they afford me. The experience of many of those gentlemen, in the business before us, is of the utmost advantage in the present operation. And I am sensible it must give your Excellency and Congress the highest pleasure to know, that the greatest harmony prevails between the two armies. They seem actuated by one spirit, that of supporting the honor of the allied arms, and pushing their approaches with the utmost vigor."—*Washington to the President of Congress, October 12.*

## SUNDAY, OCTOBER 14.

Before Yorktown: "October 14th.—The day was spent in completing our parallel and maturing the Batteries of the second parallel—the old batteries were principally directed against the abattis and salient angles of the enemy's advanced redoubts on their extreme right and left, to prepare them for the intended assault for which the necessary dispositions were made for attacking the two on the left, and, —At half after six in the evening both were carried—that on their left (on the Bank of the river) by the Americans, and the other by the French Troops. The Baron Viominel commanded the left attack & the Marq's de la Fayette, the right, on which the light Infantry were employed. . . . The bravery exhibited by the attacking Troops was emulous and praiseworthy—few cases have exhibited stronger proofs of Intrepidity, coolness and firmness than were shown upon this occasion."—*Washington's Journal*.

"During the assault, the British kept up an incessant firing of cannon and musketry from their whole line. His Excellency General Washington, Generals Lincoln and Knox, with their aids, having dismounted, were standing in an exposed situation waiting the result. Colonel Cobb, one of General Washington's aids, solicitous for his safety, said to his Excellency, 'Sir, you are too much exposed here, had you not better step a little back?' 'Colonel Cobb,' replied his Excellency, 'if you are afraid, you have liberty to step back.'"—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

## MONDAY, OCTOBER 15.

Before Yorktown: "October 15th.—Busily employed in getting the Batteries of the second parallel compleated, and fixing on new ones contiguous to the Redoubts which were taken last night.—October 16th—About four o'clock this morning, the enemy made a Sortee upon our second parallel and spiked four French pieces of Artillery and two of ours, but the guards of the Trenches advancing quickly upon them, they retreated precipitately. . . . About 4 o'clock this afternoon the French opened two Batteries of 2 24s & four 16s each—3 pieces from the American grand



battery were also opened the others not being ready.—  
*October 17th*—The French opened another Battery of four 24s & two 16s and a Morter Battery of 10 Morters and two Howitzers—The American grand Battery consisting of 12 twenty-four and eighteen prs, 4 Morters and two Howitzers.”—*Washington's Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 17.

Before Yorktown: “*October 17th*.—About ten o'clock the enemy beat a parley, and Lord Cornwallis proposed a cessation of Hostilities for 24 hours, that Commissioners might meet at the house of a Mr. Moore (in the rear of our first parallel) to settle terms for the Surrender of the Posts of York and Gloucester.”—*Washington's Journal*.

“*October 18th*.—The Commissioners met accordingly; but the business was so procrastinated by those on their side (a Colo. Dundas & a Maj'r Ross) that Colo. Laurens & the Viscount de Noailles, who were appointed on our part could do no more than make the rough draught of the articles which were to be submitted for Lord Cornwallis' consideration.”—*Washington's Journal*.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 19.

Surrender of Yorktown: “*October 19th*.—In the morning early I had them [the articles of surrender] copied and sent word to Lord Cornwallis that I expected to have them signed at 11 o'clock—and that the Garrison would march out at two o'clock—both of which were accordingly done.”—*Washington's Journal*.

“At about twelve o'clock, the combined army was arranged and drawn up in two lines extending more than a mile in length. The Americans were drawn up in a line on the right side of the road, and the French occupied the left. At the head of the former the great American commander, mounted on his noble courser, took his station, attended by his aids. At the head of the latter was posted the excellent Count Rochambeau and his suite. . . . It was about two o'clock when the captive army advanced through the line formed for their reception. Every eye was prepared to gaze on Lord Cornwallis, the object of peculiar interest and solicitude; but he disappointed our anxious expectations; pretending indisposition, he made



General O'Hara his substitute as the leader of his army. This officer was followed by the conquered troops in a slow and solemn step, with shouldered arms, colors cased and drums beating a British march. Having arrived at the head of the line, General O'Hara, elegantly mounted, advanced to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, taking off his hat, and apologized for the non-appearance of Earl Cornwallis. With his usual dignity and politeness his Excellency pointed to Major General Lincoln for directions, by whom the British army was conducted into a spacious field where it was intended they should ground their arms."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20.

Before Yorktown: *Orderly Book*.—"The General congratulates the army upon the glorious event of yesterday. . . . Divine service is to be performed to-morrow in the several brigades and divisions. The Commander-in-chief earnestly recommends, that the troops not on duty should universally attend, with that seriousness of deportment and gratitude of heart, which the recognition of such reiterated and astonishing interpositions of Providence demands of us."

"The surrender of Yorktown produced, as may well be supposed, the greatest excitement throughout the continent. It was justly considered as decisive of the issue of the struggle. The successive steps in the transaction, beginning with the first movement of the combined armies from the vicinity of New York, and extending to the complete investment of the British camp at Yorktown, were taken with such rapidity, the combinations were so skilfully arranged, the result so speedily secured, that the imaginations of men were dazzled, and the hearts of the friends of the American cause were filled with rapturous admiration and gratitude. Dr. Franklin thus wrote to Washington from Paris, on receiving the intelligence: 'All the world agree, that no expedition was ever better planned or better executed. It has made a great addition to the military reputation you had already acquired, and heightens the glory that surrounds your name, and that must accompany it to our latest posterity.'"—*Upham*, ii. 60.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 21.

Visits Count de Grasse: "*October 21st*.—The prisoners began their march [to Winchester, Virginia, and Fort Frederick and Fredericktown, Maryland] & I set out for the Fleet to pay my respects & offer my thanks to the Admiral for his important services."—*Washington's Journal*.

The whole number of prisoners, exclusive of seamen, amounted to seven thousand two hundred and forty-seven, of whom six thousand and thirty-nine were rank and file; six commissioned and twenty-eight non-commissioned officers and privates had previously been captured in the redoubts, or in the sortie from the garrison. The British loss during the siege, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to three hundred and fifty-three. The combined army to which Cornwallis surrendered was estimated at sixteen thousand, of whom seven thousand were French, five thousand five hundred Continentals, and three thousand five hundred militia. The loss in killed and wounded was two hundred and seventy-four. The land forces surrendered to General Washington, and became prisoners to Congress; but the seamen, ships, and naval equipments were assigned to the French admiral.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27.

Before Yorktown: Receives and answers an address from the president and professors of William and Mary College, Williamsburg.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 28.

Before Yorktown: "October 28th.—Received a Letter from the Count de Grasse, declining the convoy he had engaged to give the detachment for Wilmington & assigning his reasons for it."—*Washington's Journal*.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5.

Leaves Yorktown: Arrives the same day at Eltham, thirty miles from Yorktown, and is present at the death of John Parke Custis, the only son of Mrs. Washington.

John Parke Custis, while on duty at Yorktown as an aide to the Commander-in-Chief, was seized with an attack of camp fever, and was removed to Eltham, New Kent County, for better attention. He left four young children, the two youngest of whom, Eleanor Parke and George Washington Parke, were adopted by Washington. Eltham was the residence of Colonel Basset, who married a sister of Mrs. Washington.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12.

At Fredericksburg, Virginia: Visits his mother, and in the evening attends a ball given by the citizens to the French and American officers. On the following day



Washington arrived at Mount Vernon, where he remained until the 20th.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15.

At Mount Vernon: "If I should be deprived of the pleasure of a personal interview with you before your departure, permit me my dear Marquis to adopt this method of making you a tender of my ardent Vows for a propitious voyage, a gracious reception from your Prince, an honorable reward for your services, a happy meeting with your lady and friends, and a safe return in the spring."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

As soon as the plan of an operation against Wilmington, North Carolina, was abandoned, in consequence of the French admiral declining to afford an escort to the troops, Lafayette resolved to return to France. The season being too far advanced to admit of any further active service till the next year, he was desirous of taking this opportunity to visit his family. With the approbation of General Washington he proceeded to Philadelphia, and Congress, by resolution of November 23, granted him permission of absence for such a period as he should think proper. The marquis sailed from Boston, December 23, on board the "Alliance," and did not return to America during the war.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 16.

At Mount Vernon: "I shall remain but a few days here, and shall proceed to Philadelphia, when I shall attempt to stimulate Congress to the best improvement of our late success, by taking the most vigorous and effectual measures to be ready for an early and decisive campaign the next year. My greatest fear is, that Congress, viewing this stroke in too important a point of light, may think our work too nearly closed, and will fall into a state of languor and relaxation."—*Washington to General Greene.*

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 20.

At Alexandria, Virginia: Receives and answers an address from William Ramsay and others, inhabitants of the city.



WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

At Annapolis, Maryland: "The general's arrival [at Annapolis] was announced by the discharge of cannon, and he was accompanied to his excellency the governor's [Thomas Sim Lee], by the honest acclamations of the whigs; a few Tories, to expiate their crimes, and shuffle off this opprobrium of their characters, feebly joined in applauding the man, whose late successes had annihilated their hopes, and whose conduct is a satire on their principles. The president of the senate [George Plater], speaker of the house of delegates [Thomas Cockey Dey], members of the general assembly and council, and many respectable citizens hastened to offer their tribute of affection, which was richly repaid by the engaging frankness and affectionate politeness of the reception. The evening was spent at the governor's elegant and hospitable board with festive joy, enlivened by good humour, wit and beauty."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, December 6, 1781.

"When the citizens received the pleasing intimation of his excellency's intentions to honour them with his presence, all business ceased, and every consideration gave way to their impatience to behold their benefactor, and the deliverer of his country. On his appearance in the streets, people of every rank and every age eagerly pressed forward to feed their eyes with gazing on the man, to whom, under providence, and the generous aid of our great and good ally, they owed their present security, and their hopes of future liberty and peace: the courteous affability with which he returned their salutes, lighted up ineffable joy in every countenance, and diffused the most animated gratitude through every breast.

"You would have thought the very windows spoke,  
So many greedy looks of young and old  
Through casements darted their desiring eyes  
Upon his visage; and that all the walls,  
With painted imagery, had said at once,  
GOD SAVE THEE, WASHINGTON."

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22.

At Annapolis: "On the next day [November 22] the general was so obliging as to partake of a public dinner

directed by the legislature, as a mark of their respect, and to render the participation of his company as universal as possible. In the evening the city was beautifully illuminated, and an assembly prepared for the ladies, to afford them an opportunity of beholding their friend, and thanking their protector with their smiles. His excellency, to gratify the wishes of the fair, crowned the entertainment with his presence, and with graceful dignity and familiar ease so framed his looks, his gestures, and his words, that every heart o'erflowed with gratitude and love, and every tongue grew wanton in his praise. When he retired from the assembly, this was the universal language:

“ ‘Unrival'd and unmatched shall be his fame,  
And his own laurels shade his envied name.’ ”

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 23.

Leaves Annapolis: “*Annapolis*, November 24.—On Friday last our illustrious and beloved commander in chief left the city, attended by innumerable prayers for his health, safety and happiness.”—*Pennsylvania Packet*, December 6, 1781.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 24.

At Baltimore: “On Friday evening last [November 23] his Excellency General Washington and his Lady arrived here [Baltimore] from Virginia, and the next morning set out for Philadelphia.”—*Maryland Journal*, November 27, 1781.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 26.

At Philadelphia: “Last Monday [afternoon] arrived in this city [Philadelphia] His Excellency General WASHINGTON, our victorious and illustrious commander in chief, with his Lady. All panegyrick is vain and language too feeble to express our ideas of his greatness. May the crown of glory he has placed on the brow of the genius of America, shine with untarnished radiance and lustre, and in the



brightness of its rays be distinctly seen—WASHINGTON, THE SAVIOUR OF HIS COUNTRY!"—*Pennsylvania Journal*, November 28, 1781.

Washington remained in Philadelphia until March 22, 1782, during which time he made his head-quarters at the house of Benjamin Chew, No. 110 South Third Street, between Walnut and Spruce Streets. The "Chew House" had previously been occupied by Don Juan de Marailles, the reputed Spanish ambassador, who died (April 28, 1780) at the Morristown head-quarters, while on a visit to the Commander-in-Chief. Richard Peters, who was present at an entertainment given by Marailles in 1779, designates it as "Mr. Chew's fine house on South Third Street," and says, on that occasion, "the spacious gardens were superbly decorated with variegated lamps, and the edifice itself was in a blaze of light." The "Chew House," which was immediately north of the "Powel House," referred to in the Itinerary, January 6, 1779, was taken down about 1830.

#### TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 27.

At Philadelphia: "Congress being informed of the arrival of gen. Washington in this city: *Ordered*, That he have an audience in Congress to-morrow at one o'clock."—*Journal of Congress*, November 27, 1781.

On the evening of November 27, Charles Willson Peale exhibited at his house, southwest corner of Third and Lombard Streets, a number of transparent scenes, designed and executed by himself, for the purpose of celebrating the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief. "During the whole evening the people were flocking from all parts of the town to obtain a sight of the beautiful expressions of Mr. Peale's respect and gratitude to the conquering Hero." The following is a description of some of the paintings: "At the lower window, a ship with the British colours below the French, and the word CORNWALLIS on the stern, emblematical, that by the assistance of the French fleet, Cornwallis was captured. At the middle window, above, the portraits of his Excellency General Washington and Count de Rochambeau, with rays of glory and interlaced civic crowns over their heads, framed with palm and laurel branches, and the words in transparent letters, SHINE VALIANT CHIEFS; the whole encircled with stars and flowers de luce."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, December 4, 1781.

#### WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 28.

At Philadelphia: Attends Congress according to order, and, being introduced by two members, receives and answers



an address from the president, John Hanson. Receives and answers, the same day, an address from the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30.

At Philadelphia: Is waited on by Frederick A. Muhlenberg, Speaker, and several members of the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania, who present him with an address, which he answers.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 10.

At Philadelphia: Receives and answers an address from the trustees and faculty of the University of Pennsylvania.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11.

At Philadelphia: "On Tuesday evening of the 11th inst. his excellency the minister of France, who embraces every opportunity to manifest his respect to the worthies of America, and politeness to its inhabitants, entertained his excellency general Washington, and his lady, the lady of general Greene, and a very polite circle of the gentlemen and ladies, with an elegant Concert, in which an ORATORIO, composed & set to music by a gentleman whose taste in the polite arts is well known, was introduced, and afforded the most sensible pleasure."—*Freeman's Journal*, December 19, 1781.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13.

At Philadelphia: A day of thanksgiving and prayer recommended by Congress.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 19.

At Philadelphia: Receives and answers an address from the magistrates of the city of Philadelphia.

"December 19, 1781.—Spent the evening at Mr. Barges. My son Robert [having] been on a Hunt at Frankford says that His Excel'y Gen. Washington was there."—*MS. Journal of Jacob Hiltzheimer, of Philadelphia*.

## MONDAY, DECEMBER 24.

At Philadelphia: "Mrs Washington, myself and family, will have the honor of dining with you in the way proposed, to-morrow, being Christmas day."—*Washington to Robert Morris.*

## SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29.

At Philadelphia: Receives and answers an address from the vice-president and officers of the American Philosophical Society.

## SUNDAY, DECEMBER 30.

At Philadelphia: "You have enhanced the value of the trophies, with which Congress have been pleased to honor me in their resolve of the 29th of October, by the polite and affectionate manner of presenting them."—*Washington to General Lincoln.*

As Secretary of War it devolved on General Lincoln to present to the Commander-in-Chief two stands of colors taken at Yorktown, which had been assigned to him by Congress: "*Resolved*, That two stands of colours taken from the British army under the capitulation of York, be presented to his excellency general Washington, in the name of the United States in Congress assembled."—*Journal of Congress*, October 29, 1781.

## TUESDAY, JANUARY 1.

At Philadelphia: Is entertained at a dinner, given in his honor, at the City Tavern, by "The Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick."

"This brilliant entertainment was graced by the presence of the bravest and most distinguished generals of the allied army of America and France, Generals Washington, Lincoln, Howe, Moultrie, Knox, Hand, McIntosh, and Baron Steuben—Colonels Washington, Smith, Tilghman, and Count Dillon, a French officer of Irish descent, afterward much distinguished in the wars of the French revolution, and Count de la Touche. The French and Spanish ministers with their Secretaries, &c., were also present. Several of the First troop (members of the Society), Colonels Charles and Walter Stewart—Colonels Blaine and Johnston, with Robert Morris, Samuel Meredith, and Henry Hill, honorary members."—*A Brief Account of "The Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick,"* p. 49.

## WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 2.

At Philadelphia: "On Wednesday evening the 2d instant, Alexander Quesnay, esq. exhibited a most elegant entertainment at the playhouse, where were present his excellency general Washington, the Minister of France, the president of the State, a number of the officers of the army and a brilliant assemblage of ladies and gentlemen of the city, who were invited."—*Freeman's Journal*, January 9, 1782.

The entertainment was held at the Southwark Theatre, corner of South and Apollo (now Charles) Street, between Fourth and Fifth Streets. "After a prologue suitable to the occasion, EUGENIE an elegant French comedy was first presented (written by the celebrated M. Beaumarchais) and in the opinion of several good judges was extremely well acted by the young gentlemen, students in that polite language. After the comedy was acted the LYING VALET a farce, to this succeeded several curious dances, followed by a brilliant illumination, consisting of thirteen pyramidal pillars, representing the thirteen States—on the middle column was seen a Cupid, sup-



porting a laurel crown over the motto—WASHINGTON—the *pride of his country and terror of Britain*. On the summit was the word—Virginia—on the right—Connecticut, with the names GREENE and LA FAYETTE—on the left—the word Pennsylvania, with the names WAYNE and STUBEN; and so on according to the birth place and state proper to each general. The spectacle ended with an artificial illumination of the thirteen columns."

Alexander Quesnay de Glouvay, who had the direction of this "most elegant entertainment," was a French teacher; he resided in Second Street between Chestnut and Walnut Streets.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 4.

At Philadelphia: "I have remained at this place ever since you left it, and am happy in having discovered the best disposition imaginable in Congress to prepare vigorously for another campaign. They have resolved to keep up the same number of corps that constituted the army of last year, and have urged the States warmly to complete them."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette*.

"P.S.—January 5th. By advices just received from South Carolina, the enemy have evacuated all their posts in the State, and have concentrated their whole force in Charleston. Wilmington is also evacuated, and North Carolina is freed from its enemies. The disaffected part of the State are suing for mercy, and executing, it is said, some of their own leaders for having mis-guided them."

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22.

At Philadelphia: "To bring this war to a speedy and happy conclusion must be the fervent wish of every lover of his country; and sure I am, that no means are so likely to effect these as vigorous preparations for another campaign. Whether, then, we consult our true interest, substantial economy, or sound policy, we shall find, that relaxation and languor are of all things to be avoided."—*Washington to Meshech Weare, President of New Hampshire*.

"The capture of Cornwallis," said Count de Vergennes in a letter to M. de la Luzerne, "should excite the ardor of the Americans, and prove to them that the English are not invincible. Great preparations should be made for the next campaign, that advantage may be taken of this loss on the part of the British. We earnestly desire that our allies may profit by it. The more they multiply their exertions, the more certain will be their success

in procuring the tranquillity of their country. But, if they return to their accustomed inactivity, they will give England time to repair her losses, as she seems determined to do, and to prolong the war, which it is for the interest of the United States to terminate as soon as possible."

THURSDAY, JANUARY 31.

At Philadelphia: "The broken and perplexed state of the enemy's affairs, and the successes of the last campaign on our part, ought to be a powerful incitement to vigorous preparations for the next. Unless we strenuously exert ourselves to profit by these successes, we shall not only lose all the solid advantages that might be derived from them, but we shall become contemptible in our own eyes, in the eyes of our enemy, in the opinion of posterity, and even in the estimation of the whole world, which will consider us as a nation unworthy of prosperity, because we know not how to make a right use of it."—*Washington to Meshech Weare.*

This, and the letter of January 22, were written as circular letters to the governors of the States. The first, relating to finance, contained arguments for raising money adequate to the public exigencies, particularly the payment and clothing of the troops; the second transmitted accurate returns of the number of men actually in service from each State, and urged the completion of the quotas according to the requisition of Congress. In both of them the Commander-in-Chief recommended prompt preparations for another campaign. A third letter was written May 4, in which, after expressing his disappointment at not receiving the number of men he had expected, and referring to the fact that not one penny in money for the service of the year had been paid by any State, he wrote, "While acting in my military capacity, I am sensible of the impropriety of stepping into the line of civil polity. My anxiety for the general good, and an earnest desire to bring this long protracted war to a happy issue, when I hope to retire to that peaceful state of domestic pleasures, from which the call of my country has brought me to take an active part, and to which I most ardently wish a speedy return, I trust will furnish my excuse with your Excellency and the legislature, while I request your pardon for this trespass."

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 8.

At Philadelphia: Issues a proclamation, offering "free pardon to all deserters, as well those who may have joined



the enemy as others, who shall deliver themselves up to any Continental Officer on or before the first day of June next."

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9.

At Philadelphia: "I am apprehensive that your Excellency will think me unmindful of a most agreeable piece of duty, which I have been directed to perform by Congress. It is the presentation of two of the field-pieces taken at York, with an inscription engraved on them expressive of the occasion. I find a difficulty in getting the engraving properly executed. When finished, I shall with peculiar pleasure put the cannon into your possession."—*Washington to Count de Rochambeau*.

"Resolved, That two pieces of the field ordnance, taken from the British army, under the capitulation of York, be presented by the commander in chief of the American army, to count de Rochambeau; and that there be engraved thereon a short memorandum, that Congress were induced to present them from considerations of the illustrious part which he bore in effectuating the surrender."—*Journal of Congress*, October 29, 1781.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18.

At Philadelphia: "The King's speech at the opening of the British Parliament is firm, and manifests a determination to continue the war, although there is no appearance of his having made any alliances. This I hope will prove to the States the necessity of complying with the requisitions upon them for men and supplies. Every argument that I could invent to induce them to it has been made use of by me in two sets of circular letters."—*Washington to General Greene*.

MONDAY, MARCH 18.

At Philadelphia: "By late advices from Europe, and from the declarations of the British ministers themselves, it appears, that they have done with all thoughts of an excursive war, and that they mean to send but small, if any



further reinforcements to America. It may be also tolerably plainly seen, that they do not mean to hold all their present posts, and that New York will be occupied in preference to any other. Hence, and from other indications, I am induced to believe that an evacuation of the Southern States will take place."—*Washington to General Greene.*

THURSDAY, MARCH 21.

At Philadelphia: "On Thursday, the 21st inst., a Commencement was held in the hall of the university of this city [Fourth Street below Arch], before a very crowded and polite audience, consisting of the honourable members of the Supreme executive council of the state, the members of the assembly, his excellency general Washington, and his family, with the family of his excellency the French minister, the baron Stuben, and a large concourse of the most respectable citizens."—*Freeman's Journal*, March 27, 1782.

FRIDAY, MARCH 22.

Leaves Philadelphia: "Last Friday morning [March 22] his excellency general Washington left this city, attended by the hon. gen. vice president of the state [James Potter], gen. Reed, the late president, a number of gentlemen officers of the army, and also captain Morris's troop of city light horse."—*Freeman's Journal*, March 27, 1782.

SATURDAY, MARCH 23.

At Burlington, New Jersey: Inspects the Second Regiment of the Continental Corps of Artillery (Colonel John Lamb), stationed at Burlington and its vicinity.

On his way northward, Washington stopped at Morristown, New Jersey, several days, presumably to consult, if necessary, with General Knox and Gouverneur Morris, who had been appointed (March 11) to proceed to Elizabethtown, to meet other commissioners on the part of the British, to treat on the exchange of prisoners. The commissioners, however, did not meet until the 31st, the time having been deferred at the request of Sir Henry Clinton. The principal objects of the mission—a cartel for the gen-

eral exchange of prisoners, a liquidation of all accounts on both sides for the maintenance of prisoners, and provision for their future support—were not accomplished.

THURSDAY, MARCH 28.

At Morristown, New Jersey: "The spirit of enterprise, so conspicuous in your plan for surprising in their quarters and bringing off the Prince William Henry and Admiral Digby, merits applause; and you have my authority to make the attempt, in any manner, and at such a time, as your own judgment shall direct."—*Washington to Colonel Matthias Ogden.*

Prince William Henry, afterwards William IV., who was serving as a midshipman in the fleet of Admiral Digby, was at this time in New York with the admiral. How far the attempt to capture them progressed is not known; but it is supposed that the enemy became aware of the plan and took the necessary precautions to prevent it.

Washington left Morristown on the morning of March 28, and reached Newburgh, New York, on the 31st, stopping at Pompton and Ringwood on the way. He was accompanied by Mrs. Washington and an escort of an officer, sergeant, and twelve dragoons.

SUNDAY, MARCH 31.

At Newburgh, New York: "*March 31st.*—His Excellency Gen. Washington arrived at Newburgh; he had been absent from the main army since the 19th of the preceding August, having spent the winter at Philadelphia, after the capture of Earl Cornwallis."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

"*April 2d.*—Our General [Heath] went up to Newburgh [from West Point], to pay his respects to the Commander in Chief, where he dined, and returned at evening: Gen. Washington established his quarters at Newburgh."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

THURSDAY, APRIL 4.

At Newburgh: *Orderly Book.*—"The Commander in Chief, having returned, and resumed the command of the main army, he presents his thanks to Major General Heath, and the troops which have been employed under his order, for having preserved the important posts committed to his



charge, and covered the country so successfully against the depredations of the enemy, during the absence of the General."

Washington's head-quarters at Newburgh, on the Hudson, eight miles above West Point, were at the "Hasbrouck House," still standing, on the brow of a hill, in the southern part of the city. The house, a substantial stone building, one story high with a high sloping roof, was erected in 1750 by Jonathan Hasbrouck, and enlarged in 1770. The property remained in the possession of the Hasbrouck family until 1849, when the title became vested in the State of New York. In 1850 it was placed by act of assembly in the hands of the board of trustees of the village, to be preserved as nearly as possible as it was at the time of its occupation by Washington. The building was at once restored by a committee appointed by the board of trustees, and the place formally dedicated on the 4th of July of that year. In 1865, by the city charter, the care of the property passed to the city authorities, where it remained until 1874, when the legislature appointed, by act of May 11, a board of trustees to hold and maintain it.—*Ruttenber's History of Orange County.*

SATURDAY, APRIL 6.

At West Point: "April 6th.—The Commander in Chief visited West-Point, and reviewed the first Massachusetts brigade. On his arrival at the Point, he was saluted by the discharge of 13 cannon."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

TUESDAY, APRIL 9.

At West Point: "April 9th.—The Commander in Chief reviewed the 3d Massachusetts brigade and 10th regiment, and dined with our General."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

SATURDAY, APRIL 27.

At Newburgh: "Finding the commissioners appointed to liquidate the accounts of money due for the maintenance of prisoners, and make permanent provision for their future support, have separated without accomplishing any thing, I think it highly expedient, that measures should be adopted, at this moment, for taking the German prisoners of war into our service. As this measure has been considerably agitated, I shall not amplify upon the justice and propriety



of it, which to me seems very obvious."—*Washington to the Secretary at War.*

In November, 1776, when it was proposed to enlist deserters and prisoners into the American army, Washington expressed his disapproval of the measure, as being neither consistent with the rules of war nor politic; and again, in March 1778, in writing to the President of Congress, he objected to the preamble of a resolution of February 26, prohibiting the enlisting of deserters and prisoners, which implied that such enlistments had been made, saying that if any had been made, he at least was not aware of it. His change of opinion on this subject must have been brought about by the difficulty of securing recruits and the continued expense of maintaining the British prisoners. The suggestion does not seem to have been acted on by Congress.

SUNDAY, APRIL 28.

At Newburgh: "Permit me sir, to express the high sense I have of the honor you have done me in communicating the favorable opinion entertained of my conduct by the Court and nation of France, and to acknowledge my obligation to those officers, who have inspired these Sentiments."—*Washington to M. de la Luzerne.*

"I cannot deny myself the pleasure of informing you of the sentiments with which the reports of the French officers, on their return to Versailles, inspired the court and nation towards your Excellency. Their testimony can add nothing to the universal opinion respecting the great services, which you have rendered to your country; but, to the esteem and admiration of the French, will henceforth be added a sentiment of affection and attachment, which is a just return for the attentions our officers have received from you, and for the progress they have made in their profession by serving under your orders."—*Luzerne to Washington, April 18.*

WEDNESDAY, MAY 8.

At Newburgh: "Upon the most mature deliberation I can bestow, I am obliged to declare it as my candid opinion, that the measures of the enemy in all their views, so far as they respect America, are merely delusory, (they having no serious intention to admit our independence upon its true principles), and are calculated to produce a change of ministers to quiet the minds of their own people, and reconcile them to a continuance of the war; while they are

meant to amuse this country with a false idea of peace, to draw us off from our connexion with France, and to lull us into a state of security and inactivity, which having taken place, the ministry will be left to prosecute the war in other parts of the world with greater vigor and effect."—*Washington to Meshech Weare.*

FRIDAY, MAY 10.

At Newburgh: "Just as I was closing these despatches, I received a letter from Sir Guy Carleton, covering sundry printed papers, a copy of which, with the papers, I have now the honor to enclose to your Excellency."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"*New York, 7 May, 1782.*—Having been appointed by his Majesty to the command of the forces on the Atlantic Ocean, and joined with Admiral Digby in the commission of peace, I find it proper in this manner to apprise your Excellency of my arrival at New York. The occasion, Sir, seems to render this communication proper, but the circumstances of the present time render it also indispensable; as I find it just to transmit herewith to your Excellency certain papers, from the perusal of which your Excellency will perceive what dispositions prevail in the government and people of England towards those of America, and what further effects are likely to follow. If the like pacific dispositions should prevail in this country, both my inclination and duty will lead me to meet it with the most zealous concurrence. In all events, Sir, it is with me to declare, that, if war must prevail I shall endeavour to render its miseries as light to the people of this continent, as the circumstances of such a condition will possibly permit."—*Sir Guy Carleton to Washington.*

The papers enclosed in the letter were printed copies of the proceedings in the House of Commons on the 4th of March, respecting an address to the king in favor of peace, and also a copy of the bill reported in consequence thereof, enabling his Majesty to conclude a peace or truce with the revolted colonies in North America. As this bill, however, had not passed into a law when Sir Guy left England, it presented no basis for a negotiation, and was only cited by him to show the pacific disposition of the British nation, with which he professed the most zealous concurrence.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 22.

At Newburgh: "With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment, I have read with attention the sentiments



you have submitted to my perusal. Be assured, Sir, no occurrence in the course of the war has given me more painful sensations, than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army, as you have expressed, and I must view with abhorrence and reprehend with severity. . . . I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address, which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs, that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable." — *Washington to Colonel Lewis Nicola.*

In reply to a letter in which, after calling attention to the discontents of the officers and soldiers respecting the arrearages of pay, and the probability of no adequate provisions being made by Congress, Colonel Nicola wrote that many were led to look for the cause in the form of government, and to distrust the stability of republican institutions. From the innumerable embarrassments in which the country had been involved during the war, on account of its defective political organization, he inferred that America could never become prosperous under such a form of government, and that the English government was nearer perfection than any other: "Therefore I little doubt, that, when the benefits of a mixed government are pointed out, and duly considered, such will be readily adopted. In this case it will, I believe, be uncontroverted, that the same abilities, which have led us through difficulties, apparently insurmountable by human power, to victory and glory, those qualities, that have merited and obtained the universal esteem and veneration of an army, would be most likely to conduct and direct us in the smoother paths of peace. Some people have so connected the ideas of tyranny and monarchy, as to find it very difficult to separate them. It may therefore be requisite to give the head of such a constitution, as I propose, some title apparently more moderate; but, if all other things were once adjusted, I believe strong arguments might be produced for admitting the title of KING, which I conceive would be attended with some material advantages."

Lewis Nicola at the time of writing this letter was colonel of the corps of invalids, having been appointed by Congress, June 20, 1777. Previous to this he had acted as barrack-master at Philadelphia from April 20, 1776, to December 2, 1776, when he was appointed, by the Council of Safety of the State, town-major of Philadelphia. This office he held in connection with that of colonel of the invalid regiment until February 5, 1782, when he was dismissed from the service of the State with the thanks of the Su-



preme Executive Council, there being no further duty for such an officer as town-major. Colonel Nicola died at Alexandria, Virginia, in 1809.

TUESDAY, MAY 28.

At Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—"The Commander-in-Chief is happy in the opportunity of announcing to the army the birth of a Dauphin of France; and, desirous of giving a general occasion for testifying the satisfaction which, he is convinced, will pervade the breast of every American officer and soldier on the communication of an event so highly interesting to a monarch and nation who have given such distinguishing proofs of their attachment, is pleased to order a *feu de joie* on Thursday next."

WEDNESDAY, MAY 29.

At Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—"The Commander-in-Chief desires his compliments may be presented to the officers' ladies with and in the neighborhood of the army, together with a request that they will favor him with their company at dinner on Thursday next, at West Point. The General will be happy to see any other ladies of his own or friends' acquaintances on the occasion, without the formality of a particular invitation."

THURSDAY, MAY 30.

At Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—"The celebration of the birth of the Dauphin of France, which was to have taken place this day, is to be postponed until to-morrow, the 31st inst."

FRIDAY, MAY 31.

At West Point: "*May 31st*.—The birth of the Dauphin was celebrated [at West Point] by the American army. An elegant dinner was provided, by order of the Commander-in-Chief; of which the officers of the army, and a great number of ladies and gentlemen, invited from the adjacent country, partook. Thirteen toasts were drank, announced

by the discharge of cannon. At evening there was a grand feu-de-joy, opened by the discharge of 13 cannon, three times repeated. The feu-de-joy, being fired in the dusk, had a pleasing appearance to the eye, as well as the ear; and was so ordered for that purpose."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"At half past eleven o'clock, the celebration was concluded by the exhibition of fireworks very ingeniously constructed of various figures. His Excellency General Washington was unusually cheerful. He attended the ball in the evening, and with a dignified and graceful air, having Mrs. Knox for his partner, carried down a dance of twenty couple in the arbor on the green grass."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

SATURDAY, JUNE 15.

At Newburgh: "The subjugation of America, so far at least as to hold it in a dependent state, is of too much importance for Great Britain to yield the palm to us whilst her resources exist, or our inactivity, want of system, and dependence upon other powers prevail. I can truly say, that the first wish of my soul is to return speedily into the bosom of that country, which gave me birth, and, in the sweet enjoyment of domestic happiness and the company of a few friends, to end my days in quiet, when I shall be called from this stage."—*Washington to Archibald Cary*.

MONDAY, JUNE 24.

At Newburgh: "I am at this moment on the point of setting out for Albany, on a visit to my posts in the vicinity of that place. My stay will not exceed eight or ten days, and will be shortened if any despatches should be received from you in the mean time."—*Washington to Count de Rochambeau*.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 26.

At Albany, New York: "*Albany*, July 1.—Last Wednesday evening his Excellency the illustrious General WASHINGTON and his Excellency the GOVERNOR of this State [George Clinton], with their suites, arrived in this city."—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 17, 1782.



## THURSDAY, JUNE 27.

At Albany: Receives and answers an address from the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of Albany, who also present him with the freedom of the city in a gold box. "When the Corporation went to present their Address, they proceeded in procession, from the city hall. At 6 o'clock, P.M. the bells of all the churches began to ring, and continued their joyful peals until sun-set, when thirteen cannon were discharged from the fort and the city illuminated. *Who is more worthy our love and esteem than the GUARDIAN and SAVIOUR of his country!*"—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 17, 1782.

## FRIDAY, JUNE 28.

At Albany: Receives and answers an address from the minister, elders, and deacons of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Albany.

## SATURDAY, JUNE 29.

At Saratoga, New York: "*Albany*, July 2.—On Saturday he [Washington] set out to visit the troops, with the Governor, General Schuyler and many other gentlemen of distinction. Brigadier General Gansevort with forty volunteers escorted him to Saratoga, where, after surveying the theatre of the glorious campaign of 1777, he reviewed the first regiment of New Hampshire, and examined the Block-houses at that place. From thence he went, the next day to Schenectady."—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 17, 1782.

## SUNDAY, JUNE 30.

At Schenectady, New York: "Five miles from Schenectady he [Washington] was received by sixty of the principal inhabitants on horseback who attended him into the town amidst the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon, and every other public demonstration of *felicity*. About one hundred warriors of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras compleatly armed and painted for war, met him without the gates. The



magistrates, military officers and respectable citizens, who had caused a public dinner to be provided, seemed anxious to give the most incontestable proofs of their gratitude and sensibility for the honor of the visit. The general viewed the town and fortifications, and returned to Albany the same evening."—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 17, 1782.

MONDAY, JULY 1.

Leaves Albany: "Albany, July 2.—Yesterday morning he [Washington] went on board his barge on his way to the army, amidst the benedictions of the multitude, leaving the citizens of this country strongly impressed with the ideas of a *great character*, in which are combined every public and private virtue."—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 17, 1782.

"June, 1782. To my Expenditures in a Tour to Albany, Saratoga, and Schenectady on a visit to our North<sup>a</sup> Posts, £32.8.0."—*Washington's Accounts*.

TUESDAY, JULY 2.

At Newburgh: "July 2d.—The Commander-in-Chief returned from Albany."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"On the 4th, the anniversary of the declaration of our Independence was celebrated in camp. The whole army was formed on the banks of the Hudson on each side of the river. The signal of thirteen cannon being given at West Point, the troops displayed and formed in a line, when a general feu de joie took place throughout the whole army."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 10.

At Newburgh: "Sir Guy Carleton is using every art to soothe and lull our people into a state of security. Admiral Digby is capturing all our vessels, and suffocating as fast as possible in prison-ships all our seamen, who will not enlist into the service of his Britannic Majesty; and Haldimand [Governor-General of Quebec] with his savage allies, is scalping and burning on the frontiers. Such is the line of conduct pursued by the different commanders, and such their politics."—*Washington to Colonel John Laurens*.

## THURSDAY, JULY 11.

At Newburgh: "I have this moment received a letter from Count de Rochambeau (by one of his aids, in 5 days from Williamsburg) informing me that he is on his way to Philadelphia; that he will be there the 13th or 14th, and wishes for an interview with me: for this purpose I shall set out in the morning, very early."—*Washington to General Heath.*

## SUNDAY, JULY 14.

At Philadelphia: "On Sunday last [July 14] his Excellency Gen. Washington with his suite arrived in this city [Philadelphia] from the northward, and on Saturday gen. count Rochambeau from Virginia."—*Freeman's Journal*, July 17, 1782.

## MONDAY, JULY 15.

At Philadelphia: "Last Monday His Excellency the minister of France celebrated the birth of Monsigneur the Dauphin. In the evening there was a concert of musick in a room erected for that purpose. The concert finished at nine o'clock, when the fireworks began, and at the same time began a very brilliant ball; this was followed by a supper. The presence of His Excellency General Washington and Count Rochambeau rendered the entertainment as compleat as could possibly be wished."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, July 18, 1782.

' "July 15, 1782. Great doings this evening at y<sup>e</sup> French Ambassadors (who lives at John Dickinson's House up Chestnut St.)—on account of y<sup>e</sup> Birth of y<sup>e</sup> Dauphin of France—feasting, fireworks, &c. for which they have been preparing for some weeks."—*Journal of Elizabeth Drinker.*

At the conference held this day between the two commanders, it was agreed that so long as the French troops had been put under marching orders for the north, they should remain a few days at Baltimore, which place it was expected they would reach before the end of the month, till further instructions or intelligence should be received; and that, unless special reasons might appear to the contrary, the army should continue its march northwardly and join the American forces on the Hudson.



## MONDAY, JULY 22.

At Philadelphia: "Your favor of the 17th conveying to me your Pastoral on the subject of Lord Cornwallis's capture has given me great satisfaction. . . . I have only to lament that the Hero of your Pastoral is not more deserving of your Pen; but the circumstance shall be placed among the happiest events of my life."—*Washington to Mrs. Stockton*.

Mrs. Richard Stockton (Anice Boudinot) was a woman of highly cultivated mind and refined literary taste. Besides the "Pastoral on the subject of Lord Cornwallis's capture," she also, on the announcement of peace, addressed an ode to Washington on that subject. His reply in acknowledgment, dated Rocky Hill, September 2, 1783, is thought to be the most sprightly effusion of his pen.

## WEDNESDAY, JULY 24.

Leaves Philadelphia: "On Wednesday last his excellency general Washington left this city [Philadelphia], in order to join the main army on the banks of the Hudson."—*Freeman's Journal*, July 31, 1782.

From an entry in his expense account, it would seem that Washington made his stopping-place for the night of the 24th at Pottsgrove (now Pottstown), thirty-six miles northwest of Philadelphia.—"*July*, 1782. Exp<sup>t</sup> to Pottsgrove . . . £1.13.4—Bethlehem . . . £3.17.6."

## THURSDAY, JULY 25.

At Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: "*July* 25, 1782. Quite unexpectedly and very quietly his Excellency Gen. Washington arrived here [Bethlehem] accompanied by two aids de camp [Colonel Trumbull and Major Walker], but without an escort. Bro. Ettwein and other Brethren went at once to pay their respects to him [at the "Sun Inn"]. After partaking of a meal he inspected the choir houses and other objects of interest in the place, and then attended the evening service, at which Bro. Ettwein delivered a discourse, in English, on the text: 'In all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God,' &c. (II. Cor. 6:4) and the choir rendered some fine music both at the beginning and at the



close. The General manifested much friendliness, and the pleasure and satisfaction which the visit afforded him were clearly to be inferred from his utterances."—*Moravian Archives*, MS.

During the Revolution the Moravian settlement of Bethlehem witnessed many of the horrors and discomforts of war, a sore trial for the peace-loving brethren. The tramp of armed men through its quiet borders began in July, 1775; in December, 1776, most of the houses of the community were taken for hospitals, prisoners were quartered in others, and many days of "unrest at Bethlehem" are noted in the diaries preserved in the Archives. But with the horrors came also some of the pomp and circumstance of war. Being in the main route of travel to and from the Eastern States, Bethlehem saw many distinguished soldiers and statesmen. Here, at times, were Greene, Knox, Gates, Stirling, Sullivan, Schuyler, Steuben, De Kalb, Pulaski, De Chastellux, and Washington; Samuel and John Adams, Hancock, Laurens, Livingston, Boudinot, Reed, Rittenhouse, and Gérard. And here, in the autumnal days of 1777, Lafayette, under the careful nursing of the fair Moravian sister (Liesel Beckel), rapidly recovered from the wound received at Brandywine.

FRIDAY, JULY 26.

Leaves Bethlehem: "*July 26.*—At a very early hour he [Washington] proceeded on his journey by way of Easton. Bro. Ettwein, who had just been contemplating a visit to Hope, accompanied him to the first named place [Easton], and then rode on ahead, in order to make some preparation for his entertainment at Hope, where he dined and also looked about the place with pleasure."—*Moravian Archives*, MS.

The village of Hope, Sussex (now Warren) County, New Jersey, twenty miles northeast of Easton, Pennsylvania, where Washington and his aides dined on July 26, was founded by the Moravians in 1769. The undertaking however, not proving a financial success, the brethren returned to their settlements at Bethlehem and Nazareth about 1808.

The travellers, in all probability, quartered for the night at Sussex Court-House (now Newton), eighteen miles beyond Hope.

SATURDAY, JULY 27.

At Newburgh: "*July 27th.* Gen. Washington returned to Newburgh from Philadelphia."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

## TUESDAY, AUGUST 6.

At Newburgh: "You will, I imagine, have heard, before this reaches you, of the arrival of Mr. Vaudreuil with a fleet of thirteen ships of the line on this coast. I can give no particulars, as I have no official account of his arrival." — *Washington to General Greene.*

After the defeat of the French squadron in the West India waters (April 12) by Admiral Rodney, in which De Grasse lost seven vessels and was himself made a prisoner, the command devolved upon the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who received orders to go to Boston. The fleet, consisting of thirteen ships of the line (of which four were eighty guns and the others seventy-four), three frigates, and a cutter, arrived on the 10th of August, and remained until December 24, when, the French troops having embarked, the marquis set sail for Porto Cabello.

## SATURDAY, AUGUST 10.

At Newburgh: "*August 10th.*—The prospect of an approaching peace brightens; Gen. Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby informed Gen. Washington, that Mr. Grenville had gone over to France on the negociation for peace, and that the independence of America was acknowledged previous to, or as an opening of the negociation. The refugees at New York were greatly alarmed at the prospect of peace."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

"We are acquainted, Sir, by authority, that the negotiations for a general peace have already commenced at Paris, and that Mr. Grenville is invested with full powers to treat with all parties at war, and is now at Paris in the execution of his commission. And we are likewise, Sir, further made acquainted, that his Majesty, in order to remove all obstacles to that peace, which he so ardently wishes to restore, has commanded his ministers to direct Mr. Grenville, that the independency of the thirteen Provinces should be proposed by him in the first instance, instead of making it a condition of a general treaty; however, not without the highest confidence, that the Loyalists shall be restored to their possessions, or a full compensation made to them for whatever confiscations may have taken place."—*Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby to Washington, August 2, 1782.*

## SUNDAY, AUGUST 11.

At Newburgh: "Having been informed that Major-Gen-



eral Gates is in Philadelphia, and being now about to make my ultimate arrangements for the campaign, I take the liberty to request, that you will be pleased to inform me by the earliest conveyance whether he wishes to be employed in this army or not."— *Washington to the Secretary at War.*

Since the unfortunate battle of Camden (August 16, 1780), General Gates had been in retirement at his seat in Berkeley County, Virginia. The court of inquiry, ordered by Congress to examine into that matter, had never been convened. The subject was at length brought forward anew, and on August 14, 1782, it was resolved, "That the resolution of the 5th day of October, 1780, directing a court of enquiry on the conduct of major-general Gates, be repealed; and that he take command in the main army as the commander-in-chief shall direct." General Gates rejoined the army at Verplanck's Point on the 5th of October, and took command of the right wing as senior officer.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 18.

At Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—"The General has the pleasure to inform the army of the total recovery of the State of Georgia from the hands of the enemy. On the 11th of July the British evacuated Savannah, leaving the town and works uninjured. Of the citizens who have returned to their allegiance, nearly two hundred enlisted into the continental Battalion of Georgia, and it was expected the corps would soon be completed without any expense. Brigadier-general Wayne, who commanded in that State, appears to have merited great applause by his conduct there."

FRIDAY, AUGUST 30.

At Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—"Precisely at 5 o'clock to-morrow morning the General is to beat, on which the tents and baggage of the second Connecticut and third Massachusetts brigades are to be put in the boats. At 9 o'clock the Assembly will beat, when these brigades are immediately to march and embark by the right, proceeding in one column to Verplanck's Point in the following order:



1st Conn., 2d Conn., 1st Mass. and 2d Mass. Brigades. . . . If the boats are insufficient to transport the troops, with their baggage, without crowding or overloading, the surplusage will march by land under proper officers. . . . The artillery annexed to brigades will proceed by land and join their respective corps at Verplanck's Point."

SATURDAY, AUGUST 31.

At Verplanck's Point: *Orderly Book*.—"The Commander-in-Chief cannot help expressing his thanks to the officers commanding divisions, brigades and corps, and to the Adjutant and Quartermaster-generals for their punctual attention to the order of yesterday, by which the first considerable movement that has been attempted by water was made with the utmost regularity and good order."

"August 31st.—The army marched from their different quarters this morning and encamped at Verplanck's point in the evening. Part of the troops came down the river in boats, which being in motion and in regular order on the water, made a most beautiful appearance."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 1.

At Verplanck's Point: "The whole army, the garrison at West Point excepted, which is left under the command of Major-General Knox, moved down to this ground yesterday."—*Washington to the Secretary at War*.

This concentration of the army from its different points was made in consequence of an agreement with Count de Rochambeau to form a junction of the French and American forces on the Hudson, and also to be nearer the enemy in case any hostile attempts should be made from New York; although, from the inactivity and pacific declarations of Sir Guy Carleton, such attempts were not anticipated. The first division of the French army, which had left Williamsburg, Virginia, on the 23d of June, and Baltimore on the 27th of August, arrived at King's Ferry on the 16th of September. The remainder followed, the last arriving on the 18th, when the whole crossed the river, and formed a junction with the American army on the 19th. Rochambeau and his suite, preceding the troops to confer with Washington, crossed the river on the 14th. The French encamped on the left of the Americans, near Crampond, about ten miles from Verplanck's Point.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8.

At Verplanck's Point: "I have the honor to reply to your Excellency's letter of the 23d of August, and to inform you, that Major-Generals Heath and Knox are nominated by me to meet Lieutenant-General Campbell and Mr. Elliott, as commissioners for the purpose of settling a general cartel for an exchange of prisoners. I propose, Sir, that the meeting be held at Tappan, as an intermediate and convenient place, and that it commence on the 18th day of this month, at which time my commissioners will attend, and will be accompanied by the commissary of prisoners." — *Washington to Sir Guy Carleton.*

"September 26th.—The Commissioners interchanged copies of their respective powers; these were to be considered until the next day, when answers were to be given in writing, whether the powers were satisfactory on both sides. On examining the powers given to the British Commissioners, it appeared that their doings would not be conclusive until confirmed, and were very short of those held by the American Commissioners, whose agreement and signature were to be final. September 27th.—The American Commissioners stated to the British Commissioners, that the powers with which they were vested were inadequate to effect the expectations of the government of the United States, and that therefore the negotiation must be broken off. Of the great difference of the powers the British Commissioners were fully convinced. The American Commissioners thought it to be their duty, when they gave their note of objections to the British delegated powers, to hand with it a very pointed protest, in behalf of the United States, against that conduct, on the part of the British, which had so long delayed the settlement of the accounts for the support of the prisoners of war, which were in the power of the United States." — *Heath's Memoirs.*

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

At Verplanck's Point: "That the King will push the war, as long as the nation will find men or money, admits not of a doubt in my mind. The whole tenor of his conduct, as well as his last proroguing speech, on the 11th of July, plainly indicates it, and shows in a clear point of view the impolicy of relaxation on our part. If we are wise, let us prepare for the worst. There is nothing, which will so



soon produce a speedy and honorable peace, as a state of preparation for war; and we must either do this, or lay our account to patch up an inglorious peace, after all the toil, blood, and treasure we have spent."—*Washington to James McHenry.*

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14.

At Verplanck's Point: "*September 14th.*—The whole army was paraded under arms this morning in order to honor his Excellency Count Rochambeau on his arrival from the southward. The troops were all formed in two lines extending from the ferry, where the count crossed, to head quarters. A troop of horse met and received him at King's ferry, and conducted him through the line to General Washington's quarters, where sitting on his horse by the side of his Excellency, the whole army marched before him and paid the usual salute and honors. Our troops were now in complete uniform and exhibited every mark of soldierly discipline. Count Rochambeau was most highly gratified to perceive the very great improvement which our army had made in appearance since he last reviewed them, and expressed his astonishment at their rapid progress in military skill and discipline. He said to General Washington 'you must have formed an alliance with the king of Prussia. These troops are Prussians.' Several of the principal officers of the French army who have seen troops of different European nations, have bestowed the highest encomiums and applause on our army, and declared that they had seen none superior to the Americans."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

"We joined Washington's army at Kingsferry on the Hudson. The general, as a mark of respect to France, and of gratitude for the services she has rendered America, made us march between a double line of his troops, equipped, armed and clothed for the first time in the Revolution, partly from material and arms brought from France, and partly from the British storehouses taken from Cornwallis, which the French generously gave up to the American army. General Washington made his drums



beat the French march during the whole time of this review, and the two armies met again with evident marks of reciprocal satisfaction."—*Mémoires de Rochambeau*, i. 309.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18.

At Verplanck's Point: "I have the pleasure to acknowledge your favor, informing me of your proposal to present me with fifty copies of your last publication for the amusement of the army. For this intention you have my sincere thanks, not only on my own account, but for the pleasure, which I doubt not the gentlemen of the army will receive from the perusal of your pamphlets. Your observations on the *period of seven years*, as it applies to British minds, are ingenious, and I wish it may not fail of its effects in the present instance."—*Washington to Thomas Paine*.

"I have the honor of presenting you with fifty copies of my Letter to the Abbé Raynal [dated Philadelphia, August 21, 1782],\* for the use of the army, and to repeat to you my acknowledgments for your friendship. I fully believe we have seen our worst days over. The spirit of the war, on the part of the enemy, is certainly on the decline, full as much as we think for. I draw this opinion not only from the present promising appearances of things, and the difficulties we know the British Cabinet is in; but I add to it the peculiar effect which certain periods of time have, more or less, upon all men. The British have accustomed themselves to think of *seven years* in a manner different to other portions of time. They acquire this partly by habit, by reason, by religion, and by superstition. They serve seven years apprenticeship—they elect their parliament for seven years—they punish by seven years transportation, or the duplicate or triplicate of that term—they let their leases in the same manner, and they read that Jacob served seven years for one wife, and after that seven years for another; and this particular period of time, by a variety of concurrences, has obtained an influence in their mind. They have now had seven years of war, and are no further on the Continent than when they began. The superstitious and populous part will therefore conclude that *it is not to be*, and the rational part of them will think they have tried an unsuccessful and expensive project long enough, and by these two joining issue in the same eventual opinion, the obstinate part among them will be beaten out; unless, consistent with their former sagacity, they should get over the matter by an act of

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\* Written to correct the errors in the Abbé's account of the American Revolution, published in 1781.

parliament 'to bind TIME in all cases whatsoever,' or declare him a rebel."—*Thomas Paine to Washington*, September 7, 1782.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20.

At Verplanck's Point: "September 20th.—Gen. Washington reviewed the French army; the troops made a fine appearance."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"I found the American army camped in a place called Verplanck's Point. It consisted of about six thousand men, who for the first time since the beginning of the war were decently uniformed, well-armed, properly equipped, and camped in tents of a regular model. I passed through all the camp with pleasure, astonishment and admiration. All the soldiers seemed to me well looking, robust and well-chosen. The sentinels were well equipped, very attentive, sufficiently well disciplined in the use of their arms, and so strong was the contrast with the incorrect notions I had formed concerning these troops, that I was obliged frequently to say to myself, that I beheld in this army the same which formerly had no other uniform than a cap, on which was written Liberty. I noticed on a little hill which looked over the camp an assemblage of tents, which I recognized easily as the quarters of General Washington."—*Narrative of the Prince de Broglie*, "Magazine of American History," i. 307.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21.

At Verplanck's Point: "September 21st.—The American army manœuvred before the Commander in Chief, Gen. Rochambeau, and many other officers. The troops made a handsome appearance, and manœuvred well."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"This day [September 21] the Americans were under arms. It was a military festival in honour of their allies. Their camp was covered with garlands and pyramids, as so many trophies gratefully raised by the hands of liberty. The army was drawn up at the head of their camp. Twenty-four battalions of the states of New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York formed a line of two miles extent. The most exact uniformity, the neat dress of the men, the glittering of their arms, their martial look, and a kind of military luxury gave a most magnificent appearance to this assemblage of citizens armed in defence of their country. . . . A discharge of cannon was the signal for manœuvring. That exactness, order and silence which distinguish veteran armies was here displayed: they changed their front, formed and displayed columns, with admirable regularity. The day was terminated with an entertainment of more than



ninety covers, served with true military magnificence in the pretorium of the consul (for I rather express myself thus than by saying in the tent of the general). In fact, everything in this army bears a particular character; and things uncommon ought not to be described by common expressions. A band of American music, which played during the dinner, added to the gaiety of the company."—*Letter from a French officer to a friend*, "Pennsylvania Packet," October 24, 1782.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.

At Verplanck's Point: "The situation of politics, I mean European, is upon so precarious a footing, that I really know not what account to give of them. Negotiations were still going on at Paris in the middle of July; but the prospects of a peace were checked by the death of the Marquis of Rockingham. Dr. Franklin's laconic description of the temper of the British nation seems most apt. 'They are,' says he, 'unable to carry on the war, and too proud to make peace.'"—*Washington to General Greene*.

"One of my most earnest wishes was to see Washington, the hero of America. He was then encamped at a short distance from us, and the Count de Rochambeau was kind enough to introduce me to him. Too often reality disappoints the expectations our imagination had raised, and admiration diminishes by a too near view of the object upon which it had been bestowed; but, on seeing General Washington, I found a perfect similarity between the impression produced upon me by his aspect, and the idea I had formed of him. His exterior disclosed, as it were, the history of his life: simplicity, grandeur, dignity, calmness, goodness, firmness, the attributes of his character, were also stamped upon his features, and in all his person. His stature was noble and elevated; the expression of his features mild and benevolent; his smile graceful and pleasing; his manners simple, without familiarity. . . . Washington, when I saw him, was forty-nine years of age. He endeavored modestly to avoid the marks of admiration and respect which were so anxiously offered to him, and yet no man ever knew better how to receive and to acknowledge them. He listened, with an obliging attention, to all those who addressed him, and the expression of his countenance had conveyed his answer before he spoke."—*Memoirs and Recollections of Count de Ségur*, p. 281.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 29.

At Verplanck's Point: "*September 28th.*—The day before, he 27th) Gen. Washington, covered by the dragoons and



light infantry, reconnoitred the grounds on the east side of the river, below the White Plains; and on the 29th, about noon, returned to camp."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"Sep. 1782.—To the Expences of a Reconnoitre as low as Phillipsburg & thence across from Dobbs's ferry to y<sup>e</sup> Sound with a large Party of Horse . . . £32.8.0."—*Washington's Accounts*.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 2.

At Verplanck's Point: "The evils, of which they [the army] complain, and which they suppose almost remediless, are the total want of money or the means of existing from one day to another, the heavy debts they have already incurred, the loss of credit, the distress of their families at home, and prospect of poverty and misery before them. . . . You may rely upon it, the patience and long-suffering of this army are almost exhausted, and that there never was so great a spirit of discontent as at this instant. While in the field, I think it may be kept from breaking out into acts of outrage; but when we retire into winter-quarters, unless the storm is previously dissipated, I cannot be at ease respecting the consequences. It is high time for a peace."—*Washington to the Secretary at War*.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5.

At Verplanck's Point: "October 5th.—Maj. Gen. Gates arrived at camp."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"I saw him [General Gates] at the house of General Washington, with whom he had had a misunderstanding. I was present at their first interview after the disagreement. This interview excited the curiosity of both armies. It passed with a most perfect propriety on the part of both gentlemen. Mr. Washington treated Mr. Gates with a politeness which had a frank and easy air, while the other responded with that shade of respect which was proper towards his general, but at the same time with a self-possession, a nobility of manner and an air of moderation which convinced me that Mr. Gates was worthy of the successes he had gained at Saratoga, and that his defeats had only rendered him more worthy of respect, because of the courage with which he bore them. Such also was the opinion, as far as I could gather, that other gentlemen, both capable and disinterested, entertained concerning Mr. Gates."—*Narrative of the Prince de Broglie*.

## THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10.

At Dobbs' Ferry: "Oct. 10.—To the Expences of a Visit to the Post at Dobbs's ferry, etc. . . £7. 10. 0."—*Washington's Accounts*.

## FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18.

At Verplanck's Point: "The military operations of the campaign are drawing to a close without any very important events on this side of the water, unless the evacuation of Charleston, which is generally expected, but not yet known to me, should take place, and form a paragraph in the page of this year's history."—*Washington to Benjamin Franklin*.

Charleston was not evacuated by the British until December 14.

## SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19.

At Verplanck's Point: "In the present quiet state of the frontiers, and with assurances from Sir Guy Carleton, that the incursions of the savages are stopped by authority, I have it in contemplation to withdraw the Continental troops from the northward."—*Washington to Governor Clinton*.

"October 19th.—Eight battalions have been selected from the army to perform some grand manœuvres and a review. The evolutions and firings were performed this day with that regularity and precision which does them honor, and which received the full approbation of the numerous spectators, and of the American and French officers who were present."—*Thacker's Military Journal*.

## SUNDAY, OCTOBER 20.

At Verplanck's Point: "October 20th.—The Secretary at War [General Lincoln] arrived at Camp."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

## THURSDAY, OCTOBER 24.

At Verplanck's Point: "October 24th.—The whole American army manœuvred before the Hon. the Secretary at War. The Commander in Chief, in the orders of the day,



expressed his own, as well as the Secretary at War's fullest approbation."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

On October 22 the French army set out for Boston in order to embark for the West Indies, and on the morning of the 26th the American army left Verplanck's Point, crossing the Hudson in boats to West Point the following day. On the 28th the troops reached New Windsor (two miles below Newburgh), to the west of which they were to build their huts and go into winter-quarters, the last cantonment of the main Continental army. Washington re-established his quarters at Newburgh, in the "Hasbrouck House," which he retained until August 18, 1783.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30.

At Newburgh: "October 30th.—The Commander in Chief, on this day (30th of Oct.), ordered the regiments of the Massachusetts line to be reduced to 8 regiments, of 500 rank and file each, or as near as could be to that number: and the Connecticut line to 3 regiments of similar strength, with 3 Field Officers, 9 Captains, 19 Subalterns, 1 Surgeon, and 1 Mate each; and the regiments were formed accordingly."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

On the 7th of August Congress passed resolutions directing the Secretary at War, on or before the first day of January, 1783, to cause the non-commissioned officers and privates, belonging to the lines of the several States, to be arranged in such manner as to form complete regiments of not less than five hundred rank and file. The regiments so formed to be completely officered; the officers to agree and determine who should stay in service; or if this could not be effected by agreement, the junior officers of each grade were to retire.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 10.

At West Point: "November 10th.—I attended the funeral of my late worthy friend, Ensign Trant. This young gentleman at the age of eighteen came over from Ireland about two years since, and on his arrival in Boston, was appointed an ensign in our regiment. . . . His remains were decently interred in the garrison at West Point, and were followed to the grave by His Excellency General Washington, and a very respectable procession."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.



WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13.

At Newburgh: "It affords me singular pleasure, to have it in my power to transmit to you the enclosed copy of an act of Congress, of the 7th instant, by which you are released from the disagreeable circumstances in which you have so long been. Supposing that you would wish to go into New York as soon as possible, I also enclose a passport for that purpose."—*Washington to Captain Charles Asgill.*

Captain Charles Asgill, son of Sir Charles Asgill, had been selected by lot at Lancaster (May 27), from the British prisoners of his own rank, to be executed in retaliation for the death of Captain Joshua Huddy, taken prisoner by a party of refugees while commanding a small body of troops in Monmouth County, New Jersey, and hanged April 12. His execution was postponed while an investigation as to the exact cause of Captain Huddy's death was being made in the British army, and the affair was in suspense for several months. In the mean time Lady Asgill had written a pathetic letter to Count de Vergennes, the French minister, soliciting him to intercede with General Washington. This letter, with one from Vergennes to Washington, dated July 29, were submitted to Congress. They were taken into consideration, and it was resolved "that the Commander-in-chief be and is hereby directed to set Captain Asgill at liberty."

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16.

At Kingston, New York: "On the 16th of November, 1782, Kingston was honored by a visit from General Washington. After passing the night of the 15th with his companion-in-arms Colonel Cornelius Wynkoop, at his homestead at Stone Ridge [Marbletown], he proceeded on his way to Kingston.

"The arrival of the general and his suite was greeted with great rejoicings on the part of the citizens. He put up at the public house of Evert Bogardus, but accompanied by his staff he dined with Judge Dirck Wynkoop in Green Street. In the evening there was a gathering of ladies in the Bogardus ball-room, which was honored for a short time by the attendance of the general, when the ladies were severally introduced to him. The next morning at an early

hour he left the village and continued his journey."—*Schoonmaker's History of Kingston*, p. 335.

"November 1782.—To the Expences of a tour to Poughkeepsy—thence to Esopus [Kingston] & along the Western Frontier of the State of New York . . . £48.10.4."—*Washington's Accounts*.

#### THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

At Newburgh: "Captain Asgill has been released, and is at perfect liberty to return to the arms of an affectionate parent, whose pathetic address to your Excellency could not fail of interesting every feeling heart, in her behalf. I have no right to assume any particular merit from the lenient manner in which this disagreeable affair has terminated. But I beg you to believe, Sir, that I most sincerely rejoice, not only because your humane intentions are gratified, but because the event accords with the wishes of his most Christian Majesty, and his royal and amiable consort, who, by their benevolence and munificence, have endeared themselves to every true American."—*Washington to Count de Vergennes*.

#### FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6.

At Newburgh: M. de Chastellux spends the day, having arrived the evening previous, and leaves on the 7th, bidding a final farewell to Washington.

"We passed the North-river as night came on, and arrived at six o'clock at *Newburgh*, where I found Mr. and Mrs. Washington, Colonel *Tilgham* [Tilghman], Colonel *Humphreys*, and Major *Walker*. The head quarters of Newburgh consist of a single house, neither vast nor commodious, which is built in the Dutch fashion. The largest room in it (which was the proprietor's parlour for his family, and which General Washington has converted into his dining room) is in truth tolerably spacious, but it has seven doors and only one window. The chimney, or rather the chimney back, is against the wall; so that there is in fact but one vent for the smoke, and the fire is in the room itself. I found the company assembled in a small room which served by way of parlour. At nine supper was served, and when the hour of bed-time came, I found that the chamber, to which the General conducted me, was the very parlour I speak of, wherein he had



made them place a camp-bed. . . . The day I remained at head quarters was passed either at table or in conversation. General *Hand*, Adjutant General, Colonel *Reed* of New Hampshire, and Major *Graham* dined with us. On the 7th I took leave of General Washington, nor is it difficult to imagine the pain this separation gave me; but I have too much pleasure in recollecting the real tenderness with which it affected him, not to take a pride in mentioning it."—*De Chastellux*, ii. 301.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7.

At Newburgh: "The Count de Rochambeau, who arrived here this morning, did me the honor to deliver to me your letter of the 29th of November. . . . I have only now to assure you of my sincere wishes for your safe and speedy arrival at the place of your destination, and for your success and personal glory in whatever you may undertake."—*Washington to Baron de Vioménil*.

"On our return to Virginia, we paid another visit to General Washington, at New Windsor [Newburgh]. It was here that we took our most tender farewell, and that I, as well as the officers who were with me, received from the American army the assurance of their most sincere friendship for ever."—*Mémoires de Rochambeau*.

The Count de Rochambeau remained at head-quarters until the 14th, when he set out for Annapolis, from whence, in company with the Marquis de Chastellux and General de Choisy, he sailed January 11, 1783. His visit to Washington was made on his return from Providence, where he took leave of the French army. The command then devolved on the Baron de Vioménil, who arrived with the troops at Boston during the first week of December, but the embarkation did not take place until the 24th.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27.

At Poughkeepsie, New York: Present at the celebration of the festival of St. John the Evangelist, by King Solomon's Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons.

A medal was struck in 1882, in commemoration of this visit to the Poughkeepsie Lodge, which was founded April 18, 1777.—See Baker's "Medallic Portraits of Washington," p. 130.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29.

At Newburgh: "It is with infinite satisfaction, that I embrace the earliest opportunity of sending to Philadelphia



the cannon, which Congress were pleased to present to your Excellency, in testimony of their sense of the illustrious part you bore in the capture of the British army under Lord Cornwallis at York in Virginia. The carriages will follow by another conveyance. But, as they were not quite ready, I could not resist the pleasure, on that account, of forwarding these pieces to you previous to your departure, in hopes the inscription and devices, as well as the execution, may be agreeable to your wishes."—*Washington to Count de Rochambeau.*

"*Annapolis, January 11, 1783.*—Though I was gone from Philadelphia, before the cannon arrived there, give me leave to observe, that your usual attention and politeness have been shown to the last moment, of which this is a fresh proof. I write to the Chevalier de la Luzerne to keep them till peace, when they may be carried over without danger of being taken. We are just getting under sail. In this moment I renew to your Excellency my sincere acknowledgments for your friendship, and am with the most inviolable personal attachment and respect your most obedient servant."—*Rochambeau to Washington.*

1783.

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8.

At Newburgh: "The Power given to Mr. Oswald, to treat with any Commissioner or Commissioners properly authorized from the United States of America, is more than I expected wd. happen before the meeting of Parliament. But, as the Gentlemen on the part of America could not treat with Him unless such powers were given, it became an act of necessity to cede them to effect their other purposes. Thus I account for the indirect acknowledgment of our Independence by the King, who, I dare say, felt some severe pangs at the time he put his hand to the Letters Patent. It is not, however, less efficacious or pleasing on that account; and breaking the Ice is a great point gained." — *Washington to Robert R. Livingston.*

In the spring of 1782, Richard Oswald was sent by the British ministry to Paris, to confer with Dr. Franklin on the subject of peace. His mission was initiatory in character. In July following, Parliament having passed a bill to enable the king to acknowledge the independence of the United States, Oswald was vested with full power to negotiate a treaty of peace, and in September the United States appointed four commissioners for the same purpose. They were John Adams, John Jay, Benjamin Franklin, and Henry Laurens, all of whom were in Europe at the time. A preliminary treaty of peace was signed by the commissioners and Mr. Oswald at Paris, November 30, 1782. In April, 1783, the preliminary treaty having been ratified by the United States and Great Britain, the latter vested David Hartley with full powers to negotiate a definitive treaty with the American commissioners. It was concluded and signed at Paris, September 3, 1783, by Hartley, on the part of Great Britain, and Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay, on the part of the United States.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 23.

At Newburgh: *Orderly Book.* — "The evacuation of Charlestown [December 14, 1782], and the total liberation

of the southern states from the power of the enemy, are important events, of which the commander-in-chief has now received official information. It is with heartfelt satisfaction he takes an early opportunity of making it known, and of congratulating the Army on the favourable prospect before us. The enemy, after more than a seven years war, and all their boasted conquests, being now reduced to narrower limits and a weaker force than they were possessed of seven years ago."

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29.

At Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—"Thursday, the 6th of February, being the anniversary of the alliance with France, a *feu de joie* will be fired on that day in celebration of this auspicious event, by the troops of this cantonment; previous to which they will be reviewed by the Commander-in-Chief on their parades. The regiments to be under arms precisely at one o'clock. . . . After the *feu de joie*, the General will be happy to see, not only all the officers of the cantonment, but all the gentlemen of the army and other gentlemen and ladies who can attend with convenience at the new Public Building, where a cold collation will be provided."

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6.

At Newburgh: "It is with a pleasure, which friendship only is susceptible of, that I congratulate you on the glorious end you have put to hostilities in the Southern States. The honor and advantages of it, I hope and trust you will long live to enjoy. . . . If historiographers should be hardy enough to fill the page of History with the advantages, that have been gained with unequal numbers, (on the part of America) in the course of this contest, and attempt to relate the distressing circumstances under which they have been obtained, it is more than probable, that Posterity will bestow on their labors the epithet and marks of fiction; for



it will not be believed, that such a force as Great Britain has employed for eight years in this country could be baffled in their plan of subjugating it, by numbers infinitely less, composed of men oftentimes half starved, always in Rags, without pay, and experiencing at times every species of distress, which human nature is capable of undergoing. I intended to have wrote you a long letter on sundry matters; but Major Burnet popped in unexpectedly at a time, when I was preparing for the celebration of the day, and was just going to a review of the troops, previous to the *feu de joie*.”  
— *Washington to General Greene.*

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15.

At Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—“The New Building being so far finished as to admit the troops to attend public worship therein, after to-morrow it is directed that divine service should be performed there every Sunday by the several chaplains of the New Windsor cantonment, in rotation.”

The “New Building,” rendered famous as having been the place where Washington, in considering the “Newburgh Addresses,” read his celebrated appeal to the officers of the army, was a one-story frame structure put up by the labor and materials furnished by the different regiments. It stood on an eminence at New Windsor, and was “handsomely finished, with a spacious hall, sufficient to contain a brigade of troops on Lord’s days, for public worship, with an orchestra at one end. On the top was a cupola and a flag-staff.”\* It was also called the “Temple” and the “Public Building,” and, although erected for religious services, was used as a meeting-place for general purposes.

TUESDAY, MARCH 4.

At Newburgh: “The predicament, in which I stand as a citizen and soldier, is as critical and delicate as can well be conceived. It has been the subject of many contemplative hours. The sufferings of a complaining army on one hand, and the inability of Congress and tardiness of the States on

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\* Heath’s Memoirs, p. 358.

the other, are the forebodings of evil, and may be productive of events, which are more to be deprecated than prevented. . . . The just claims of the army ought, and it is to be hoped will have their weight with every sensible legislature in the United States, if Congress point to their demands and show, if the case is so, the reasonableness of them, and the impracticability of complying with them without their aid."—*Washington to Alexander Hamilton.*

## WEDNESDAY, MARCH 12.

At Newburgh: "It is with inexpressible concern I make the following report to your Excellency. Two days ago, anonymous papers were circulated in the army, requesting a general meeting of the officers on the next day. A copy of one of these papers is enclosed. About the same time, another anonymous paper, purporting to be an address to the officers of the army, was handed about in a clandestine manner. It is also enclosed. . . . Since writing the foregoing, another anonymous paper is put in circulation, a copy of which is enclosed."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

After the army went into winter-quarters at New Windsor, they became extremely dissatisfied with the prospects of having any settlement of the long arrearages of pay and unadjusted claims. In December, therefore, a memorial to Congress was drawn up, and a committee appointed to carry it to Philadelphia. The committee, composed of General McDougall, Colonel Ogden, and Colonel Brooks, did not meet with the success they anticipated, and the discontent increased. On the 10th of March anonymous notices were circulated in the army, calling for a meeting of the general and field officers at the "New Building," on Tuesday, the 11th, at eleven o'clock. At the same time a well-written address was also circulated through the camp, which, in effect, advised the army to take matters into their own hands, and to make demonstrations that should arouse the fears of the people and of the Congress, and therefore obtain justice for themselves. Washington's attention being called to the matter, he referred to it in general orders of the 11th; expressed his disapprobation of the whole proceedings as disorderly; and requested the general and field officers, with one officer from each company and a proper representation from the staff of



the army, to meet at the "New Building," at twelve o'clock, on Saturday, March 15. On the appearance of this, a second anonymous address was issued, more subdued in tone, but expressing similar sentiments to the first.

SATURDAY, MARCH 15.

At New Windsor: A meeting of the officers of the army at the "New Building," conformably to the notification given in the general orders of the 11th, General Gates as senior officer presiding. The meeting was opened by the Commander-in-Chief, who read an address, reminding those present of the cause for which they had taken up arms, and appealing to them not to adopt measures which might cast a shade over that glory which had been so justly acquired, and tarnish the reputation of an army which was celebrated through all Europe for its fortitude and patriotism. "By thus determining and thus acting, you will give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings; and you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind, 'Had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection, to which human nature is capable of attaining.'"

After reading his address, Washington retired from the meeting and left the officers to discuss the subject unrestrained by his presence. The deliberation of the officers was short and their decision prompt and unanimous. They passed resolutions thanking the Commander-in-Chief for the course he had pursued and expressive of their unabated attachment, and also declaring their unshaken reliance on the good faith of Congress and their country, and a determination to bear with patience their grievances till in due time they should be redressed. The anonymous addresses were from the pen of Major John Armstrong, an aide-de-camp to General Gates, then only twenty-five years of age, and who afterwards held important civil offices. They were written at the request of several officers, who believed that the tardy proceedings of Congress, and the reluctance of that body to recognize the claims of the public creditors, called for a decided expression of the sentiments of the army.



## SUNDAY, MARCH 16.

At Newburgh: "I have the honor to inform your Excellency, for the satisfaction of Congress, that the meeting of the officers, which was mentioned in my last, was held yesterday; and that it has terminated in a manner, which I had reason to expect, from a knowledge of that good sense and steady patriotism of the gentlemen of the army, which on frequent occasions I have discovered."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

## TUESDAY, MARCH 18.

At Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—"The Commander-in-Chief is highly satisfied with the report of the proceedings of the officers assembled on the 15th instant, in obedience to the orders of the 11th. He begs his inability to communicate an adequate idea of the pleasing feelings which have been excited in his breast by the affectionate sentiments expressed toward him on that occasion, may be considered as an apology for his silence."

## WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19.

At Newburgh: "I have the honor to acknowledge your Excellency's favor of the 12th instant, and to thank you most sincerely for the intelligence you were pleased to communicate. The articles of treaty between America and Great Britain are as full and as satisfactory as we had reason to expect; but, from the connexion in which they stand with a general pacification, they are very inconclusive and contingent."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

The intelligence was the news of the *preliminary articles of peace* between Great Britain and the United States having been signed by the commissioners at Paris on the 30th of November. The news was brought by the packet "Washington," commanded by Captain Barney, who sailed from L'Orient on the 17th of January, and arrived at Philadelphia on the morning of the 12th of March.

## SATURDAY, MARCH 22.

At Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—"In justice to the zeal and ability of the chaplains, as well as to his own feelings, the Commander-in-Chief thinks it a duty to declare that the regularity and decorum with which divine service is performed every Sunday will reflect great credit on the army in general, tend to improve the morals, and at the same time increase the happiness of the soldiery, and must afford the most pure, rational entertainment for every serious and well-disposed mind."

## SUNDAY, MARCH 30.

At Newburgh: "Your Excellency will permit me, with the most lively sensations of gratitude and pleasure, to return you my warmest thanks for the communication, which you have been pleased to make to me and to the army, of the glorious news of a general peace; an event, which cannot fail to diffuse a general joy throughout the United States, but to none of their citizens more than to the officers and soldiers, who now compose the army."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

The first intelligence of the signing of a *general treaty of peace* at Paris, on the 20th of January, was brought to America by the "*Triumph*," a French armed vessel, sent by Lafayette from Count d'Estaing's squadron at Cadiz. It arrived at Philadelphia in the afternoon of the 23d of March. The following letter was received by the President of Congress from the Marquis de Lafayette: "*Cadiz*, 5 February, 1783.—Having been at some pains to engage a vessel to go to Philadelphia, I now find myself happily relieved by the kindness of Count d'Estaing. He is just now pleased to tell me, that he will despatch a French ship, and, by way of compliment on the occasion, he has made choice of the *Triumph*. So that I am not without hope of giving Congress the first tidings of a general peace; and I am happy in the smallest opportunity of doing any thing that may prove agreeable to America."

## MONDAY, MARCH 31.

At Newburgh: "I rejoice most exceedingly that there is an end to our warfare, and that such a field is opening to our view, as will, with wisdom to direct the cultivation of



it, make us a great, a respectable, and happy people; but it must be improved by other means than State politics, and unreasonable jealousies and prejudices, or (it requires not the second sight to see that) we shall be instruments in the hands of our enemies, and those European powers, who may be jealous of our greatness in union, to dissolve the confederation. But, to obtain this, although the way seems extremely plain, is not so easy."—*Washington to Alexander Hamilton.*

"It remains only for the States to be wise, and to establish their independence on the basis of an inviolable, efficacious union, and a firm confederation, which may prevent their being made the sport of European policy. May heaven give them wisdom to adopt the measures still necessary for this important purpose."—*Washington to General Greene, March 31.*

SATURDAY, APRIL 5.

At Newburgh: "We stand now an Independent People, and have yet to learn political Tactics. We are placed among the nations of the Earth, and have a character to establish; but how we shall acquit ourselves, time must discover. The probability is (at least I fear it) that local or State politics will interfere too much with the more liberal and extensive plan of government, which wisdom and foresight, freed from the mist of prejudice, would dictate; and that we shall be guilty of many blunders in treading this boundless theatre, before we shall have arrived at any perfection in this art; in a word, that the experience, which is purchased at the price of difficulties and distress, will alone convince us, that the honor, power, and true Interest of this Country must be measured by a Continental scale, and that every departure therefrom weakens the Union, and may ultimately break the band which holds us together."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9.

At Newburgh: "I feel great satisfaction from your Excellency's despatches by Captain Stapleton, conveying to me



the joyful annunciation of your having received official accounts of the conclusion of a general peace, and a cessation of hostilities. Without official authority from Congress, but perfectly relying on your communication, I can at this time only issue my orders to the American out-posts, to suspend all acts of hostilities until further orders. This shall be instantly done; and I shall be happy in the momentary expectation of having it in my power to publish to the American army a general cessation of hostilities between Great Britain and America."—*Washington to Sir Guy Carleton.*

"A packet from England arrived in this port last night, by which I have despatches from Mr. Townshend, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, communicating official intelligence, that preliminary articles of peace with France and Spain were signed at Paris on the 20th of January last, and that the ratifications have been since exchanged at the same place. The King, Sir, has been pleased in consequence of these events, to order proclamations to be published, declaring a cessation of arms, as well by sea as land; and his Majesty's pleasure signified, that I should cause the same to be published in all places under my command, in order that his Majesty's subjects may pay immediate and due obedience thereto; and such proclamation I shall accordingly cause to be made on Tuesday next, the 8th instant."—*Carleton to Washington, New York, April 6.*

FRIDAY, APRIL 18.

At Newburgh: *Orderly Book.*—"The Commander-in-Chief orders the cessation of hostilities, between the United States and the King of Great Britain, to be publicly proclaimed to-morrow at twelve at the New Building; and that the Proclamation, which will be communicated herewith, be read to-morrow evening at the head of every regiment and corps of the army; after which the Chaplains with the several brigades will render thanks to Almighty God for all His mercies, particularly for His overruling the wrath of man to His glory, and causing the rage of war to cease among the nations."

"April 19th.—At noon, the Proclamation of the Congress, for a cessation of hostilities, was published at the door of the New Building, followed by

three huzzas; after which a prayer was made by the Rev. Mr. Ganno, and an anthem, *Independence*, from Billings ["No King but God"] was performed by vocal and instrumental music. The same day, Gen. Washington went for Ringwood, to meet the Secretary at War, on some business of importance."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

SUNDAY, APRIL 20.

At Newburgh: "April 20th.—At evening, the Commander in Chief returned [from Ringwood, New Jersey] to head-quarters."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"April 1783.—To the Expences of a Trip to meet the Secretary at War at Ringwood for the purpose of making arrangements for liberating the Prisoners, &c. . £8.10.8."—*Washington's Accounts*.

SATURDAY, MAY 3.

At Dobbs' Ferry: "May 3d.—In the forenoon the Commander in Chief, and Gov. Clinton, with their suites, &c. went down the river to Dobb's Ferry, to meet Gen. Sir Guy Carleton. Four companies of light infantry marched [on the 2d] for that place, to do the duty of guards. Sir Guy was to come up the river in a frigate."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"I cannot decline the personal interview proposed by your Excellency, and purpose being in a frigate as near Tappan as may be, where I understand you mean to lodge. If I hear nothing from you to occasion an alteration, I intend being up, on the 5th of May, accompanied by a smaller vessel or two, for the accommodation of Lieutenant-Governor Elliot, Chief Justice William Smith, and part of my family."—*Carleton to Washington*, New York, April 24.

TUESDAY, MAY 6.

At Dobbs' Ferry: In conference with Sir Guy Carleton, in relation to the evacuation of the posts in the United States in possession of the British troops, and other arrangements.

During the conferences between the two commanders, which are said to have been held at the Van Brugh Livingston house, on the height which overlooks the Hudson at Dobbs' Ferry, on the eastern shore of the river, Washington made his quarters at Orangetown or Tappan, on the west side, about two miles from the ferry.



## THURSDAY, MAY 8.

At Dobbs' Ferry: "On Thursday, the 8th May, the American party dined on board the sloop [frigate?], where they were received with military honors and entertained with stately courtesy by Sir Guy. When Washington and Clinton went on board the British sloop of war they were saluted with the firing of a number of cannon. When they left the sloop she fired seventeen guns—in honor of Washington's exalted military rank. This was the first complimentary salute fired by Great Britain in honor of an officer of the United States, and virtually the first salute to the nation."—*John Austin Stevens*, "Magazine of American History," v. 108.

## FRIDAY, MAY 9.

At Newburgh: "May 9th.—At evening the Commander in Chief returned to head-quarters, having had an interview with Gen. Sir Guy Carleton."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"To Expenditures upon an Interview with Sir Guy Carleton at Orange Town exclusive of what was paid by the Contract<sup>rs</sup>.—Viz: At Birdsalls. . £5.2.6.—Maj<sup>r</sup> Blauvets for the use of his H<sup>s</sup> Furniture &c. 10 Guin<sup>s</sup> a 37/4. . £18.13.4.—Gave the Dragoons to carry them to their Quarters. . £5.12.0—Gave the Serv<sup>ts</sup>. to travel up by Land to H<sup>d</sup>. Quarters. . £3.4.0 = Y<sup>r</sup>. Cur<sup>t</sup>. . . £32.11.10."—*Washington's Accounts*.

## SATURDAY, MAY 10.

At Newburgh: "I had not the honor of receiving your favor of the 1st instant until the 7th. Being at that time at Orangetown on a conference with Sir Guy Carleton, it had a circuitous route to make before it reached me. . . . I have now the honor to mention to you, as I did some time ago to the Minister of France, that, viewing the peace so near a final conclusion, I could not hold myself justified in a desire to detain the troops under your command from the expectations of their sovereign, or to prevent their own wishes of a return to their native country and friends."—*Washington to the Duke de Lauzun*.



The French troops under the Duke de Lauzun, being part of Count de Rochambeau's army that remained after the departure of the main body at Boston, sailed from the Capes of Delaware on the 12th of May. They had been cantoned recently at Wilmington, in the State of Delaware. Some of these remaining troops had also been stationed at Baltimore under General Lavalette, being the detachment left by Count de Rochambeau at Yorktown to effect the removal of the French artillery and stores from that place.

THURSDAY, MAY 15.

At Poughkeepsie, New York: "*May 15th.*—The Commander in Chief went for Poughkeepsie. A letter from Gen. Sir Guy Carleton, to Gov. Clinton, had rendered an interview between the Governor and the Commander in Chief necessary."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"*May 16th.*—At evening, the Commander in Chief returned to headquarters."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

MONDAY, JUNE 2.

At Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—"The Honorable the Congress have been pleased to pass the following resolve: 'RESOLVED, That the Commander-in-Chief be instructed to grant furloughs to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers in the service of the United States enlisted to serve during the war, who shall be discharged as soon as the definitive treaty of peace is concluded, together with a proportional number of commissioned officers of the different grades, and that the Secretary of War and Commander-in-Chief take the proper measures for conducting those troops to their respective homes, in such a manner as may be most convenient to themselves, and the States through which they may pass, and that the men thus furloughed be allowed to take their arms with them.' In consequence of the preceding resolution, colonels and commanders of corps will immediately make return of the number of men who will be entitled to furloughs, to the commanding officers of the several State Lines, who will make report thereof to Headquarters. At the same time returns are to be made of the non-commissioned officers and privates who will not be in-

cluded in the above description. . . . A sufficient number of officers of the several grades to command the troops who will remain in the field must continue with them. They are requested to make this a matter of agreement among themselves."

FRIDAY, JUNE 6.

At Newburgh: Receives and answers an address from the "Generals and officers commanding regiments and corps, in the cantonment on Hudson's River," relative to the furloughing of officers and soldiers without any settlement of their accounts.

"The two subjects of complaint with the army appear to be, the delay of the three months payment, which had been expected, and the want of a settlement of accounts. I have thought myself authorized to assure them, that Congress had attended and would attend particularly to their grievances, and have made some little variations respecting furloughs from what was at first proposed."—*Washington to the President of Congress*, June 7.

SUNDAY, JUNE 8.

At Newburgh: Issues a circular letter addressed to the governors of the several States, pointing out the course which he deemed it the duty and the interest of the country to adopt.

"The circular letter which he wrote to the governors of the States, as his last official communication, and which was designed to be laid before the several legislatures, is remarkable for its ability, the deep interest it manifests for the officers and soldiers who had fought the battles of their country, the soundness of its principles, and the wisdom of its counsels. Four great points he aims to enforce as essential in guiding the deliberations of every public body, and as claiming the serious attention of every citizen, namely, an indissoluble union of the States; a sacred regard to public justice; the adoption of a proper military peace establishment; and a pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the States, which should induce them to forget local prejudices, and incline them to mutual concessions for the advantage of the community. These he calls the pillars by which alone independence and national character can be supported. On each of these topics he remarks at considerable length, with a felicity of style and cogency of reasoning in all respects worthy of the subject."—*Sparks*, i. 395.



In quite a number of publications the date of this letter is given as of June 18. The transcript, however, in the Department of State, Washington, D.C., is dated June 8. The letter was submitted to Congress on June 11, and referred to a committee, consisting of Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and Theodorick Bland, who on the 19th reported favorably, and it was resolved that copies should be transmitted to the several States.

TUESDAY, JUNE 10.

At Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—"The strength of the army in this cantonment being considerably diminished by the number of men lately furloughed, the order of the 16th of April, directing a General, Field-Officers, and Quarter-Master to be of the day, and also a regiment to parade every day for duty, is dispensed with. For the present, there will be one Field-Officer, and an Adjutant of the day; and the guards only will form on the grand parade at 9 o'clock in the morning."

The gradual falling away of the main Continental army from the cantonment at New Windsor is recorded in Heath's Memoirs: "June 5th. The Maryland battalion marched from the cantonment.—June 6th. In the forenoon, the Jersey line marched from the cantonment to their own State, where they were to be disbanded.—June 8th. The men for the war, belonging to the Maryland, New-Jersey, New-York, and New-Hampshire lines, having marched from the cantonment, a division of the Massachusetts men marched on this day.—June 9th. A division of the Suffolk and Worcester furloughed men, marched for their own State, and so on, a division each day, until the whole had marched.—June 13th. The men who had enlisted for 3 years, and for shorter periods not expired, were formed, those belonging to Massachusetts into 4 regiments. . . . On the morning of the 16th, these regiments incorporated, and were formed into two brigades.—June 20th. The troops at the cantonment were put under orders, to be ready to march for West Point on the succeeding Monday.—June 23d. The Massachusetts regiments marched to West Point."

THURSDAY, JUNE 19.

At Newburgh: "June 19th.—A number of officers of the army, viz. several general officers, and officers commanding regiments and corps, met at the New Building, and elected his Excellency Gen. Washington, President General; Gen. M'Dougal, Treasurer; and Gen. Knox, Sec-



retary, *pro tempore*, to the Society of the Cincinnati."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"While contemplating a final separation of the officers of the army," says Doctor Thacher, "the tenderest feelings of the heart had their afflicting operations. It was at the suggestion of General Knox, and with the acquiescence of the Commander in Chief, that an expedient was devised by which a hope was entertained that their long cherished friendship and social intercourse might be perpetuated, and that at future periods they might annually communicate, and revive a recollection of the bonds by which they were connected." In pursuance of these suggestions a meeting was held on the 10th day of May, at which a committee was appointed to revise the proposals for such an institution. The report of the committee was accepted at a meeting held May 13, at the quarters of Baron Steuben, in the Verplanck house, near Fishkill Landing, and the "Society of the Cincinnati," with a provision for the formation of State Societies, was organized. Washington officiated as president until his death.

FRIDAY, JUNE 20

At Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—"The troops of this cantonment [New Windsor] will march on Monday morning, 5 o'clock, by the left. The senior Brigadier on the Massachusetts Line will conduct the column over Butter Hill to West Point. . . . These corps, with the troops at West Point, will compose the garrisons of that post and its dependencies. Major-general Knox will be pleased to expedite in the best manner he is able the building of an arsenal and magazines, agreeably to the instructions he hath received from the Secretary at War. As soon as the troops are collected at West Point, an accurate inspection is to take place, in consequence of which all non-commissioned officers and privates who are incapable of service, except in the corps of invalids, are to be discharged, and the names of all the men whose time of service will expire within a month are also to be reported to Head-quarters."

TUESDAY, JUNE 24.

At Newburgh: "The men engaged to serve three years were formed into regiments and corps in the following

manner; namely, the troops of Massachusetts compose four regiments; Connecticut, one regiment; New Hampshire, five companies; Rhode Island, two companies; Massachusetts artillery, three companies; and New York artillery, two companies. The army being thus reduced to merely a competent garrison for West Point, that being the only object of importance in this quarter, and it being necessary to employ a considerable part of the men in building an arsenal and magazines at that post, agreeably to the directions given by the secretary at war, the troops accordingly broke up the cantonment [at New Windsor] yesterday, and removed to that garrison, where Major-General Knox still retains the command."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

## TUESDAY, JULY 8.

At Newburgh: "It now rests with the Confederate Powers, by the line of conduct they mean to adopt, to make this Country great, happy and respectable; or to sink it into littleness—worse perhaps—into Anarchy and confusion; for certain I am, that unless adequate Powers are given to Congress for the *general* purposes of the Federal Union, that we shall soon moulder into dust and become contemptible in the eyes of Europe, if we are not made the sport of their Politicks."—*Washington to Dr. William Gordon.*

## THURSDAY, JULY 10.

At Newburgh: "I cannot sufficiently express my sensibility for your kind congratulations on the favorable termination of the War, and for the flattering manner in which you are pleased to speak of my instrumentality in effecting a revolution, which I can truly aver, was not in the beginning premeditated; but the result of dire necessity brought about by the persecuting spirit of the British Government. This no man can speak to with more certainty, or assert upon better grounds than myself—as I was a member of



Congress in the Councils of America till the affair at Bunker Hill, and was an attentive observer and witness to those interesting and painful struggles for accommodation, and redress of grievances in a Constitutional way, which all the world saw and must have approved, except the ignorant, deluded and designing."—*Washington to George William Fairfax.*

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16.

At Newburgh: "I have resolved to wear away a little time [while expecting the definitive treaty], in performing a tour to the northward, as far as Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and perhaps as far up the Mohawk River as Fort Schuyler. I shall leave this place on Friday next, and shall probably be gone about two weeks."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Washington left head-quarters on July 18, in company with Governor Clinton; passed Albany, Old Saratoga, Fort Edward, Lake George, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and returned by way of Ballston and Schenectady; thence up the Mohawk to Fort Schuyler (formerly Fort Stanwix), and over to Wood Creek; thence down across to Otsego Lake, and over the portage to the Mohawk, arriving at Albany on August 4, and at Newburgh on the following day.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6.

At Newburgh: "After a tour of at least seven hundred and fifty miles, performed in nineteen days, I returned to this place yesterday afternoon, where I found your favor of the 31st ultimo, intimating a resolution of Congress for calling me to Princeton, partly, as it would seem, on my own account, and partly for the purpose of giving aid to Congress."—*Washington to James McHenry.*

In consequence of some riotous demonstrations on the part of a small body of Pennsylvania troops, against the State government, Congress, deeming themselves unsafe at Philadelphia, had adjourned on June 21, and reassembled at Princeton, New Jersey, on the 30th. The resolution of Congress, requesting the attendance of the Commander-in-Chief, was passed July 28.



## TUESDAY, AUGUST 12.

At Newburgh: "I have received a call from Congress to repair to Princeton. . . . As this will remove me to a distance, and may for a considerable time separate us, and prevent frequent personal Interviews; I should be much obliged to you for intimating to me—before I go—what will be necessary for me to do respecting our purchase of the Saratoga Springs."—*Washington to Governor Clinton.*

On their return from Crown Point and Ticonderoga, in the month of July, Washington and Governor Clinton stopped at the High Rock Spring, where the village of Saratoga Springs now stands. Being strongly impressed with the value of the water and the importance of the surrounding land, they determined to purchase it, the necessary arrangements being left to Governor Clinton. It was found, however, that some members of the Livingston family had already secured the land. The High Rock and Flat Rock Springs were the only ones known at the time.

## SATURDAY, AUGUST 16.

At Newburgh: Answers an address (dated July 10) from the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in general court assembled, congratulating him on the return of peace.

After referring to the happy return of peace, with expressions of gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, the wise conduct of the Commander-in-Chief in discharging his important trust, and the hardships he endured, the address concludes in the following words: "While patriots shall not cease to applaud the sacred attachment which you have constantly manifested to the rights of citizens—too often violated by men in arms! your military virtues and achievements will be deeply recorded in the breasts of your countrymen and their posterity, and make the brightest pages in the history of mankind."

## SUNDAY, AUGUST 17.

At Newburgh: *Orderly Book.*—"The Commander-in-Chief, having been requested by Congress to give his attendance at Princeton, proposes to set out for that place to-morrow; but he expects to have the pleasure of seeing the army again before he retires to private life. During his

absence Major-general Knox will retain command of the troops, and all reports are to be made to him accordingly."

This is the last order issued by the Commander-in-Chief from the Newburgh head-quarters. On the following morning he set out for Rocky Hill, New Jersey, four miles north of Princeton, stopping at West Point on his way. An interesting incident of this visit to West Point exists in a memorandum of the weights of several of the officers, taken on August 19, in which Washington's is stated to be two hundred and nine pounds. He arrived at Rocky Hill on the 24th.

MONDAY, AUGUST 25.

At Rocky Hill, New Jersey: On this day Congress, in session at Princeton, "being informed of the arrival of the commander in chief in the neighborhood of Princeton: *Ordered*, That he have an audience in Congress to-morrow at 12 o'clock."

Washington's head-quarters at Rocky Hill (the last head-quarters of the Revolution) were at the house of Judge Berrien, which had been engaged by Congress and suitably furnished for the purpose. The house (a two-story frame building with piazzas) is still standing upon an eminence a short distance from the Millstone River.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 26.

At Princeton, New Jersey: Attends Congress according to order, and being introduced by two members, an address is made to him by the President (Elias Boudinot), which he answers.

"CONGRESS feel particular pleasure in seeing your excellency, and in congratulating you on the success of a war, in which you have acted so conspicuous a part. It has been the singular happiness of the United States, that during a war so long, so dangerous, and so important, Providence has been graciously pleased to preserve the life of a general, who has merited and possessed the uninterrupted confidence and affection of his fellow citizens. In other nations many have performed services, for which they have deserved and received the thanks of the public. But to you, Sir, peculiar praise is due. Your services have been essential in acquiring and establishing the freedom and independence of your country. They deserve a grateful acknowledgments of a free and independent nation. These acknowledgments, Congress have the satisfaction of expressing to your excellency."—*Journal of Congress*.



THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 11.

At Rocky Hill: "Congress have come to no determination *yet*, respecting a Peace Establishment, nor am I able to say when they will. I have lately had a conference with a committee on this subject, and have reiterated my former opinions, but it appears to me, that there is not a sufficient representation to discuss *Great National* points; nor do I believe there will be, while that Honble. Body continue their Sessions at this place."—*Washington to Governor Clinton.*

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 24.

At Princeton: Attends the annual commencement of the College of New Jersey, the exercises being held in the First Presbyterian Church.

After the commencement exercises the Board of Trustees of the College adopted the following minute: "The Board being desirous to give some testimony of their high respect for the character of his Excellency General Washington, who has so auspiciously conducted the armies of America. *Resolved*, That the Rev. Drs. Witherspoon, Rodgers, and Johnes be a committee to wait upon his Excellency to request him to sit for his picture, to be taken by Mr. Charles Wilson Peale of Philadelphia. And that this portrait when finished be placed in the Hall of the College, in the room of the picture of the late King of Great Britain (George the Second), which was torn away by a ball from the American artillery in the battle of Princeton." On the following day "Dr. Witherspoon [President of the College] reported to the Board that his Excellency General Washington had delivered to him fifty guineas, which he begged the Trustees to accept as a testimony of his respect for the College." The picture, a full-length, representing Washington at the battle of Princeton, is still owned by the College.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 12.

At Princeton: "Having the appearance, and indeed the enjoyment of peace, without a final declaration of it, I, who am only waiting for the ceremonials, or till the British forces shall have taken leave of New York, am placed in an awkward and disagreeable situation, it being my anxious desire to quit the walks of public life, and under the shadow of my



own vine and my own fig tree to seek those enjoyments and that relaxation, which a mind, that has been constantly upon the stretch for more than eight years, stands so much in need of. I have fixed this epoch to the arrival of the definitive treaty, or to the evacuation of my country by our newly acquired friends."—*Washington to the Marquis de Chastellux*.

"WHEREAS, by the blessing of Divine Providence on our cause and our arms, the glorious period is arrived when our national independence and sovereignty are established, and we enjoy the prospect of a permanent and honorable peace: We therefore, the United States in Congress assembled, impressed with a lively sense of the distinguished merit and good conduct of the armies [of the United States of America], do give them the thanks of their country for their long, eminent and faithful services. And it is our will and pleasure, that such part of the federal armies as stands engaged to serve during the war, and as by our acts of the 26th day of May, the 11th day of June, the 9th day of August, and the 26th day of September last, were furloughed, shall, from and after the 3d day of November next, be absolutely discharged, by virtue of this our proclamation, from the said service."—*Journal of Congress*, October 18, 1783.

#### THURSDAY, OCTOBER 23.

At Rocky Hill: "From many circumstances I think it now pretty evident, that the British will leave New York in all next month. Sir Guy Carleton has informed me verbally, through Mr. Parker, that he expects to evacuate the city by the 20th, and that, when the transports, which were gone to Nova Scotia, returned, he should be able to fix the day of his departure. In consequence of this intelligence, and fearful lest I should not have timely notice, I have this day written to General Knox, desiring him to confer with your Excellency, and make every necessary arrangement for taking possession of the city the moment the British quit it."—*Washington to Governor Clinton*.

It was some time during his occupancy of the "Berrien House," at Rocky Hill, that Washington sat to William Dunlap, then in his eighteenth year, for his portrait. In mentioning this fact (*Arts of Design*, i. 258), Mr. Dunlap adds, "My visits were now frequent to head-quarters. The only military in the neighborhood were the general's suite and a captain's guard,

whose tents were on the green before the Berrian house, and the captain's marqué nearly in front. The soldiers were New England yeomen's sons, none older than twenty; their commander was Captain Howe, in after times long a resident of New York. . . . I was quite at home in every respect at head-quarters; to breakfast and dine day after day with the general and Mrs. Washington, and members of congress, and noticed as the young painter, was delicious." Dunlap's early effort, a crayon drawing, possesses no particular significance in the history of Washington portraiture.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31.

At Princeton: "On the 31st of October, the honorable Peter John Van Berckel, minister plenipotentiary from their high mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands, was admitted by congress to an audience. The chevalier de La Luzerne, general Washington, the superintendent of finance, many other gentlemen of eminence, together with a number of ladies of the first character, assembled in the chapel of Princeton college to participate of the joys the audience should afford; and for which their spirits were put into proper tone, by the arrival, a little before Mr. Van Berckel entered, of an authentic account that the definitive treaty between Great Britain and the United States was concluded."—*Gordon, History of the American Revolution*, iv. 379.

On Saturday, October 25, Congress, in session, resolved, "That the honorable P. J. Berckel, be received as minister plenipotentiary from their high mightinesses the states general of the United Netherlands; and that agreeably to his request, he be admitted to a public audience in Congress. That the Congress room in Princeton, on Thursday next [the 30th] at noon, be appointed as the time and place for such audience. That the superintendent of finance and secretary at war, or either of them, perform on this occasion, the duties assigned to the secretary for foreign affairs, in the ceremonial respecting foreign ministers; and that they inform the supreme executives of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, his excellency the commander in chief, the honorable the minister plenipotentiary of France, and such civil and military gentlemen as are in or near Princeton, of the public audience to be given to the honorable the minister plenipotentiary of their high mightinesses the states general of the United Netherlands." The audience, however, did not take place until the following day, Friday, October 31, as stated by Dr. Gordon.

## SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 2.

At Rocky Hill: Issues his Farewell Address to the Armies of the United States.

In this admirable address, after referring to the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, the complete attainment of the object for which they had contended, at a period earlier than could have been expected, and the enlarged prospects of happiness opened by the confirmation of national independence and sovereignty, the Commander-in-Chief recommends all the troops to carry into civil society the most conciliating dispositions, proving themselves not less virtuous and useful as citizens than they had been persevering and victorious as soldiers, and to maintain the strongest attachment to the Union. Then, presenting his thanks in the most serious and affectionate manner to the officers and men for the assistance he had received from every class, he adds, "And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave in a short time of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honor to command, he can only again offer in their behalf his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favors, both here and hereafter, attend those, who, under the Divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others. With these wishes and this benediction, the Commander-in-chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene to him will be closed for ever."

## TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4.

At Rocky Hill: Issues an order in compliance with a resolution of Congress of October 29, that "from and after the 15th of November instant all the troops in the service of the United States, who are now in Pennsylvania, or the southward thereof, except the garrison of Fort Pitt, shall be considered as discharged from the service of the United States: and all officers commanding corps or detachments of any such troops, are hereby directed to grant them proper discharges accordingly."

## THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6.

At Rocky Hill: "In consequence of the information given by your Excellency to Congress some time past, that



you had received orders for the evacuation of New York, and of the verbal message you were pleased to send by Mr. Parker to me respecting the period of embarkation, I am now induced to request, that you will be so obliging as to inform me of the particular time, or even the certain day, if possible, when this event will happen."—*Washington to Sir Guy Carleton.*

The following description of the horse and saddle used by Washington when at Rocky Hill is transcribed from a MS. note dated "Prince-Town Sep<sup>r</sup>. 28<sup>th</sup> 1783," found among the papers of Nathaniel Lawrence, Attorney-General of New York, 1792-95: "Genl Washingtons horse and saddle. Old crooked saddle with a short deep blue saddle cloth flowered, with buff cloth at the edge, buckskin seat, the cloth not below the skirts of the saddle at the sides; double skirts, crupper, sursingle, and breast strap; small rone horse, not five; double bitted steal bridle, and plated stirrups. The General usually rode from Rockingham to Prince Town, which is five miles, in forty minutes. The General weighs commonly about 210 pounds."

#### FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7.

At Rocky Hill: Receives and answers an address from the officers of the militia of the county of Somerset, New Jersey.

#### SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 9.

At Rocky Hill: "You will take charge of the Waggon which contain my baggage, and with the escort proceed with them to Virginia, and deliver the baggage at my house ten miles below Alexandria. As you know they contain all my Papers, which are of immense value to me, I am sure it is unnecessary to request your particular attention to them. . . . The bundle which contains my accounts you will be carefull of, and deliver them at the financier's Office with the Letters addressed to him, that is Mr. Morris."—*Washington to Captain Bazaleel Howe.*

"Philadelphia, November 11, 1783.—In the evening came Genl. Washington's 6 Baggage Teams. November 12.—His Excel. Baggage Teams set out for that Excellent Commander's Residence in Virginia."—*MS. Journal of Jacob Hiltzheimer.*

## FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14.

At West Point: "I had the honor yesterday to receive, by Major Beckwith, your Excellency's favor of the 12th. To-day I will see the governor of this State, and concert with him the necessary arrangements for taking possession of the city of New York, and the other posts mentioned in your letter, at the times therein specified."—*Washington to Sir Guy Carleton.*

As a step preparatory to taking possession of the city of New York, General Washington went from Rocky Hill to West Point, where the part of the Continental army that still remained in service was stationed, under the command of General Knox. "On his way to West Point, being overtaken by a snow storm, Washington was detained at Orangetown or Tappan nearly three days. During this delay he was the guest of Mrs. De Wint, at the house occupied by him as head-quarters in 1780."—*Magazine of American History*, v. 109.

## SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15.

At West Point: Receives from the officers of that part of the army remaining on the banks of the Hudson an answer to his Farewell Address to the Armies of the United States.

## SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 16.

At West Point: *Garrison Orders.*—"The Definitive Treaty being concluded and the city of New York to be evacuated on the 22d inst., His Excellency the Commander in Chief proposes to celebrate the Peace at that place, on Monday the first day of December next, by a display of Fire-Works and Illuminations, which were intended to have been exhibited at this post, or such of them as have not been injured by time, and can be removed."

## TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 18.

At West Point: "I have at length the pleasure to inform your Excellency and Congress, that Sir Guy Carleton has fixed upon the time at which he proposes to evacuate the city of New York. The particulars are more fully ex-



plained in his letter of the 12th instant, a copy of which, together with my answer, is enclosed."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"I propose to relinquish the posts at Kingsbridge, and as far as McGowans Pass inclusive on this Island, on the 21st instant; to resign the possession of Herrick's and Hampstead with all to the eastward on Long Island, on the same day; and, if possible to give up this city with Brooklyn, on the day following; and Paulus Hook, Dennis's, and Staten Island, as soon after as may be practicable."—*Carleton to Washington*, New York, November 12.

#### FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

At "Day's Tavern," Harlem: "On Friday, the 21st of November, arrived at Haerlem, at Day's tavern,\* nine miles from the city of New York, his Excellency General WASHINGTON, and his Excellency GEORGE CLINTON Esq. Governor of that State. They were attended by a number of Gentlemen of the army, Members of the Senate and Assembly, and other officers of distinction. The Continental troops are stationed at or near M'Gowan's pass,† our pickets are advanced to the Dove Tavern, five miles from the city."—*Pennsylvania Journal*, November 29, 1783.

"I went from Peekskill Tuesday the 18 of Novemr. In Company with his Excellency Gover'r Clinton, Coll. Benson, and Coll Campbell, Lodge that night with Genl Cortlandt at Croton River, proceeded and lodged Wednesday night [19th] at Edw. Covenhov'n [Tarrytown] where we mett his Excellency Genl Washington & his aids, the next Night [20th] Lodged with Mrs. Fred'k V Cortlandt at the Yonkers after having dined with Genl Lewis Morris. Fryday morning [21st] wee rode In Company with the Commander In Chief as far as the widow Day's at harlem, where we held a Council. Saturday [22d] I rode down to Mr. Stuyvesants stay'd there until Tuesday [25th]. Then rode Triumphant into the Citty with the Commander."—*Note-Book of Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt*, "Magazine of American History," v. 134.

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\* Near the corner of the present One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street and Eighth Avenue.

† The encampment, of about eight hundred men, was on the present line of One Hundred and Tenth Street between Fifth and Eighth Avenues, the northern boundary of Central Park.



SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22.

At "Day's Tavern," Harlem: "With regard to the information, that a deliberate combination has been formed to plunder the city of New York, I have to observe, that the intelligence appears to me not to be well-founded; at least, no intimations of the kind had ever before come to my knowledge; and I can assure your Excellency, that such arrangements have been made, as will, in my opinion, not only utterly discountenance, but effectually prevent, any outrage or disorder."—*Washington to Sir Guy Carleton.*

"*New York, Nov. 24, 1783.* The Committee appointed to conduct the Order of receiving their Excellencies Governor CLINTON and General WASHINGTON, BEG Leave to inform their Fellow-Citizens, that the Troops, under the command of Major-General KNOX, will take Possession of the City at the Hour agreed on, Tuesday next; as soon as this may be performed, he will request the Citizens who may be assembled on Horseback, at the Bowling-Green, the lower End of the Broad-Way, to accompany him to meet their Excellencies Governor CLINTON and General WASHINGTON, at the Bull's Head,\* in the Bowery—the Citizens on Foot to assemble at or near the Tea-water-Pump† at Fresh-water. ORDER OF PROCESSION. A Party of Horse will precede their Excellencies and be on their flanks—after the General and Governor, will follow the Lieutenant-Governor and Members of the Council for the temporary Government of the Southern Parts of the State—The Gentlemen on Horse-back, eight in Front—those on Foot, in the Rear of the Horse, in like Manner. Their Excellencies, after passing down Queen-Street, and the Line of Troops up the Broad-way, will a-light at CAPE's Tavern. The Committee hope to see their Fellow-Citizens, conduct themselves with Decency and Decorum on this joyful Occasion."—*Contemporary hand-bill.*

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 25.

At New York: "*New York, Nov. 26.*—Yesterday in the morning the American troops marched from Haerlem, to

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\* The old Bowery Theatre, on the west side of the Bowery, just below Canal Street, opened in 1826, was erected on the site of the Bull's Head Tavern. The original building, destroyed by fire in 1828, was rebuilt, again destroyed in 1838, rebuilt, destroyed for the third time in 1845, and again rebuilt. It is now a German theatre, called "The Thalia."

† Near the present junction of Chatham and Roosevelt Streets.

the Bowery lane.—They remained there [near the present junction of Third Avenue and the Bowery] until about one o'clock, when the British troops left the post in the Bowery, and the American troops marched in and took possession of the city.—After the troops had taken possession of the city, the GENERAL and GOVERNOR made their public entry in the following manner:—Their excellencies the general and governor with their suites on horseback. The lieutenant governor, and the members of the council for the temporary government of the southern district four a-breast.—Major-general Knox, and the officers of the army, eight a-breast.—Citizens on horseback, eight a-breast.—The speaker of the assembly, and citizens, on foot, eight a-breast.

“Their excellencies the governor and commander in chief were escorted by a body of West Chester light horse, under the command of Captain Delavan. The procession proceeded down Queen [now Pearl] Street, and through the Broad-way to *Cape's* Tavern. The governor gave a public dinner at Fraunces's tavern; at which the commander in chief, and other general officers were present.”—*Pennsylvania Packet*, December 2, 1783.

Fraunce's tavern, at which Washington took up his quarters, was situated at what is now the southeast corner of Broad and Pearl Streets. Part of the original building, which was erected by Etienne De Lancey in 1700, is still standing.

#### WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 26.

At New York: Receives and answers an address from the “Citizens of New York, who have returned from exile, in behalf of themselves and their suffering Brethren.”

#### FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28.

At New York: “On Friday [November 28] at *Cape's* Tavern the Citizens, who have lately returned from exile, gave an elegant Entertainment to his Excellency the Governor, and the Council for governing the city; his Excellency General Washington, and the officers of the Army; about

three hundred Gentlemen graced the feast."—*The Remembrancer*, xvii. 190.

Cape's tavern was on the west side of Broadway and north corner of the present Thames Street. The house, at the time of its erection one of the largest and finest structures in the city, was taken down in 1792, and the City Hotel built on its site. The Boreel building now occupies the ground.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 1.

At New York: "On Monday [December 1] a very elegant Entertainment was given at Cape's Tavern, by his Excellency the Governor, to his Excellency the Chevalier de la Luzerne, Ambassador from his most Christian Majesty to the United States. His Excellency General Washington, the principal Officers of this State and of the army, and upwards of an hundred Gentlemen were present, who passed the day and evening with great conviviality."—*The Remembrancer*, xvii. 190.

On the same day Washington received and answered an address from the freeholders and inhabitants of King's County, on Nassau or Long Island, State of New York.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2.

At New York: Receives and answers an address from the "members of the volunteer associations, and other inhabitants of the Kingdom of Ireland lately arrived in the City."

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3.

At New York: "On the 25th of November the British troops left this city, and a detachment of our army marched into it. The civil power was immediately put in possession, and I have the happiness to assure you, that the most perfect regularity and good order have prevailed ever since."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

"*New York*, December 3.—The splendid display of Fire-works last evening, was so highly satisfactory, that I must request you to present to Captain Price, under whose direction they were prepared; and to the Officers



who assisted him, my thanks for the great skill and attention shewn in the conduct of that business."—*Washington to General Knox.*

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4.

At New York: "Last Thursday noon [December 4] the principal officers of the army in town assembled at Fraunce's tavern to take a final leave of their illustrious, gracious and much loved commander, *General Washington*. The passions of human nature were never more tenderly agitated than in this interesting and distressful scene. His excellency having filled a glass of wine, thus addressed his brave fellow-soldiers:

"*With an heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you: I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable.*"

"These words produced extreme sensibility on both sides; they were answered by warm expressions, and fervent wishes, from the gentlemen of the army, whose truly pathetic feelings it is not in our power to convey to the reader. Soon after this scene was closed, his excellency the Governor, the honorable the Council and citizens of the first distinction waited on the general and in terms the most affectionate, took their leave.

"The corps of light infantry was drawn up in a line, the commander in chief, about two o'clock passed through them on his way to Whitehall, where he embarked in his barge for Powles Hook [Jersey City]. He is attended by general le baron de Steuben; proposes to make a short stay at Philadelphia; will thence proceed to Annapolis, where he will resign his Commission as General of the American armies, into the hands of the Continental Congress,\* from whom it was derived, immediately after which his excellency will set

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\* Congress adjourned at Princeton, November 4, to meet at Annapolis, Maryland, on the 26th. A quorum, however, was not present until Saturday, the 13th of December, when nine States were represented.

out for his seat, named Mount Vernon, in Virginia, emulating the example of his model, the virtuous Roman general, who, victorious, left the tented field, covered with honors, and withdrew from public life, *otium cum dignitate*."—*Livington's New York Gazette*, December 6, 1783.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6.

At Trenton, New Jersey: "*Trenton*, December 9, 1783. Last Saturday [December 6] arrived in this town his Excellency General Washington, on his way to his seat in Virginia. Immediately after his arrival he was waited upon by his Excellency the Governor [William Livingston], and a Committee of the Council and Assembly, by whom he was presented with an Address."—*Independent Gazetteer*, December 20, 1783.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 8.

At Philadelphia: "Yesterday [December 8] at noon his excellency GENERAL WASHINGTON arrived here [Philadelphia] from New York. His Excellency was met at Frankfort, by his excellency the President of this State [John Dickinson], the honorable the financier [Robert Morris], generals St. Clair and Hand, the Philadelphia, troop of horse, and a number of the citizens, who had the pleasure of accompanying the General into the city. His arrival was announced by a discharge of cannon, the bells were rang, and the people testified their satisfaction, at once more seeing their illustrious chief, by repeated acclamations."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, December 9, 1783.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9.

At Philadelphia: Receives and answers an address from the General Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania, and one from the merchants of the city of Philadelphia.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10.

At Philadelphia: Receives and answers an address from



the President and the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

"*Philadelphia*, Dec'r 10th.—After seeing the backs of the British Forces turned upon us, and the Executive of the State of New York put into peaceable possession of their Capital, I set out for this place—On Monday next I expect to leave the City, and by slow travelling arrive at Baltimore on Wednesday, where I will spend one day and then proceed to Annapolis and get translated into a private citizen."—*Washington to James McHenry*.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11.

At Philadelphia: A day of public thanksgiving, recommended by Congress, October 18.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 12.

At Philadelphia: "On Friday the 12th inst. the merchants of this city [*Philadelphia*], who on all occasions have manifested the sincerest attachment to our beloved Commander in Chief, had an elegant entertainment prepared for him at the City Tavern, as a fresh proof of their respect and attention. On this truly festive and happy occasion, toasts and sentiments were given. . . . The evening was closed with a ball, at which were present a very numerous and brilliant company of ladies and gentlemen."—*Independent Gazetteer*, December 30, 1783.

On the same day Washington received and answered an address from the officers of the militia of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13.

At Philadelphia: Receives and answers addresses from the magistrates of the city and county of Philadelphia; from the American Philosophical Society; from the Trustees and Faculty of the University of the State of Pennsylvania; and from the clergy, gentlemen of the law, and physicians of the city of Philadelphia.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 15.

Leaves Philadelphia: "The Illustrious General Washington after Commanding the Army of the united States above



Eight years, has just given the Americans Possession of New York again, after the British had it in their hands more than Seven years, has this day Set out from Philad<sup>a</sup>. towards his Seat in Virginia Escorted a little way out of Town by Their Excellency's de la Luzerne, Ambassador from France on his right, John Dickinson President of this State on his left, and the City Troop of Horse in the rear. The Honourable Rob<sup>t</sup>. Morris & his Lady in a Carriage a little way ahead. Now I think from the Present appearance it is not Likely that I shall Have the Honour of Seeing that Great and Good Man again do therefore most Sincerely Congratulate him on the Noble Resolution he has fixed, That is not to accept of any Public office hereafter but to spend the Remainder of his days in a Private life, is undoubtedly the best and Surest way to Preserve the Honours he so justly acquired during the Late War."—*MS. Journal of Jacob Hiltzheimer, of Philadelphia.*

" *Wilmington* [Delaware], December 16.—Last evening his excellency general Washington arrived in this borough, on his way to his seat in Virginia; previous to his arrival he was met by the governor and council, the attorney-general, and other civil officers of the State, officers of the army and other gentlemen, who escorted him into town; on his arrival he was saluted by thirteen discharges of cannon; an elegant supper was provided, whilst the inhabitants demonstrated their joy by making large bonfires &c." —*Pennsylvania Packet*, December 28, 1788.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 16.

At Wilmington: Is waited on by the burgesses and other officers of the corporation, accompanied by a number of respectable inhabitants, and presented with an address, which he answers.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 18.

At Baltimore, Maryland: Is entertained at a public dinner given to him, and receives and answers an address from the citizens.

## FRIDAY, DECEMBER 19.

At Annapolis, Maryland: "The congress of the United States being then in session, at the city of Annapolis, general Washington arrived there with suite, on Friday, the 19th December, 1783, for the purpose of resigning his commission into their hands. He was met a few miles from the city, by generals Gates and Smallwood, accompanied by several of the principal inhabitants of the place, who escorted him to Mr. Mann's hotel, where apartments were prepared for his reception. His arrival was announced by the discharge of cannon. After receiving visits from many of the citizens, he waited on the president of congress."—*Annals of Annapolis.*

## SATURDAY, DECEMBER 20.

At Annapolis: Dines with the President of Congress, in company with the members of that body and the principal military and civil officers of the State.

"In Congress, Annapolis, December 20.—A letter, of this day, from the commander in chief was read, informing Congress of his arrival in this city, with the intention of asking leave to resign the commission he has the honor of holding in their service, and desiring to know their pleasure in what manner it will be most proper to offer his resignation; whether in writing or at an audience; Whereupon, *Resolved*, That his excellency the commander in chief be admitted to a public audience on Tuesday next, at twelve o'clock. *Resolved*, That a public entertainment be given to the commander in chief on Monday next."—*Journal of Congress.*

## SUNDAY, DECEMBER 21.

At Annapolis: "On Sunday morning, he returned the visits of the citizens and others who had waited on him."—*Annals of Annapolis.*

## MONDAY, DECEMBER 22.

At Annapolis: "On Monday, congress gave general Washington a public dinner, at the ball-room, where upwards of two hundred persons of distinction are said to

have been present; and where every thing was provided by Mr. Mann, in the most elegant and profuse style. After dinner many toasts were drunk, accompanied by the discharge of cannon. At night the state-house was illuminated, where a ball was given by the general assembly, at which a very numerous and brilliant company of ladies was present. On this occasion general Washington opened the ball with Mrs. James Maccubbin, of this city, one of the most beautiful women of her day. An address was made to general Washington, on this occasion, by the corporate authorities of the city."—*Annals of Annapolis*.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 23.

At Annapolis: "Congress assembled. Present Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina; and from the state of New-Hampshire, Mr. Foster, and from the state of South-Carolina, Mr. Read.

"According to order, his excellency the commander in chief was admitted to a public audience, and being seated, the president [Thomas Mifflin], after a pause, informed him, that the United States in Congress assembled, were prepared to receive his communications; Whereupon, he arose and addressed as follows:

"MR. PRESIDENT: The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States, of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence—a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task; which however was superseded by a confidence in the



rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of heaven.

“The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

“While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of Congress.

“I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

“Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to the august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.”—*Journal of Congress*.

Upon concluding the address, the Commander-in-Chief delivered his commission to the President of Congress, who, in receiving it, made an appropriate reply. The ceremony ended—a remarkable scene had been witnessed; a memorable action performed—and GEORGE WASHINGTON, a private citizen, withdrew from the room. On the following morning he set out for Mount Vernon, his eight years and a half of service completed,—a service which, for unwearied devotion, unselfish patriotism, and unthought forbearance, stands unequalled in the annals of this world's history!



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